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A STUDY OF
THE TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION INITIATIVE
(T.V.E.I.)
IN RELATION TO ITS ROLE
AS A STRATEGY FOR
CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

A Thesis Presented for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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Department
of Education



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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

BTEC	Business and Technician Education Council.
CPVE	Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education.
DES	The Department of Education and Science [now the Department for Education (DFE)]
DoE	The Department of Employment.
FEU	Further Education Unit.
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education.
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools & Colleges.
INSET	In-Service Training.
LEA	Local Education Authority.
MSC	The Manpower Services Commission [later The Training Agency].
TRIST	TVEI Related In-Service Training.
TVEI	The Technical and Vocational Education Initiative.
YTS	Youth Training Scheme.

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DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that this thesis (and the work described in this thesis) has not been submitted for any degree, nor is it being currently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Except where otherwise stated, the work is the result of my own investigations carried out at the University of Warwick during the period September 1986 - December 1992.

Any evaluation material which has previously been presented by me to the TVEI projects concerned in this research is acknowledged as such in the Bibliography.

Signature of Supervisor . . .



(Dr L A Bell)

Signature of Candidate . . .



(S J Hodge)

Date

. . . 1st December 1992

SUMMARY

This thesis investigates the introduction of The Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) to schools and colleges. It examines how far, and in what ways, the Initiative was able to bring about changes in LEAs and institutions. The evaluation studies carried out by the Author in three Local Education Authorities are considered and, in addition to discussing the methodology which was used, the ways in which the research was affected by its association with a contractually arranged evaluation programme are analysed. Features of educational innovation are considered in relation to the main participants in TVEI, and the ways in which these groups and individuals attempted to implement change are reviewed. The research studies, which were conducted at local and national levels, are considered, and the evaluation data that was obtained is used to consider the ways in which one of the projects managed the Initiative. The change strategies that were employed are analysed, and the developments occurring in TVEI are set against the educational background of the Authority. The ways in which the policies of the LEA influenced individual institutions are evaluated. The outcomes of this particular case study are then compared with the approaches used to introduce and manage TVEI in two other LEAs. The main findings are that:

- (i) there was a shift of control from the MSC to the LEAs and institutions during the lifetime of TVEI which resulted partly from the centre/periphery change model employed. This shift enabled practitioners to gain a considerable degree of control over the ways in which the Initiative was implemented.
- (ii) many of the changes taking place were peripheral to the main aims of TVEI, and the available funding allowed the introduction of a number of long established ideas.
- (iii) TVEI had a considerable influence on other initiatives introduced during the 1980's.
- (iv) TVEI enabled changes to take place in those LEAs and institutions that were willing and prepared for innovations to occur.
- (v) the Initiative was introduced rapidly, and many of the changes were partial and incomplete.
- (vi) the ways in which TVEI influenced practice in institutions was dependent upon the roles and attitudes of the headteachers, co-ordinators and other key staff involved.
- (vii) the relationship between an LEA and its institutions was critical to the ways in which changes were introduced.

CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH.

1.1 TVEI.

On 12th November 1982, the then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, announced the Government's intention to introduce a new initiative aimed at affecting the curriculum of secondary schools (DES 1982). This initiative was intended to generate changes in the provision of technical and vocational education. This new scheme, the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative, soon to become known as TVEI was to be funded through the Manpower Services Commission (later the Training Agency) *, and not, as would have been more usual, through the Department of Education and Science. It was aimed at 14-18 year olds and was intended to affect the education of these students in ways which would:

- encourage more of them to seek qualifications and skills that would be of direct value to them at work and allow more of them to achieve these qualifications and skills;
- mean that they would be better equipped to enter the world of employment which would await them;
- ensure that they would acquire a more direct appreciation of the practical application of the qualifications for which they were working;

* During the course of this thesis, the name Manpower Services Commission (MSC) will be used, since this was the title in use during the period when most of this research was being conducted.

- ensure that they would become accustomed to using their skills and knowledge to solve the real-world problems that they would meet at work.
- give them a better understanding of industry and commerce.

TVEI was introduced as a pilot scheme, the purpose of which was:

'to explore and test methods of managing programmes of general, technical and vocational education for 14-18 year old students which may be suitable for replication elsewhere.' (MSC 1984c, page 2).

To achieve this a number of pilot projects were set up. Some of these began in 1983, with others starting in the subsequent five years. In order to undertake a pilot project, an LEA had to submit proposals for meeting the objectives of the scheme to the MSC's TVEI Unit. Since TVEI was a highly funded initiative (£55.1 million was given to the first 14 LEAs), it proved to be a popular scheme, with 66 LEAs submitting proposals in the first year. However, because the criteria for TVEI had been centrally determined, and were imposed by the MSC upon successful LEAs without any negotiation, a number of LEAs refused to become involved. This situation was further exacerbated by the objectives of the Initiative being considered divisive by some LEAs (Blackman 1988). Because TVEI schemes were seen as experimental, a requirement was that each project should be evaluated (MSC 1984a). This study is the outcome of the evaluation of a number of TVEI pilot schemes.

1.2 EVALUATION OF TVEI.

It was decided in 1984, by the Manpower Services Commission's National Steering Group for TVEI, that independent local external evaluation of TVEI pilot projects should be a mandatory condition of the contracts made with Local Authorities. A minimum of 1% (about £4,000) per annum of the funding, made available to LEAs for TVEI, was to be used for this purpose. This local evaluation was intended to be additional to the national evaluation which the TVEI Unit had commissioned Leeds University, the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and Trent Polytechnic to undertake.

The local evaluation of TVEI had two main purposes:

- (i) to assist each Local Authority with the development of its TVEI scheme through independent observation. The evaluation was intended to be formative in nature, providing immediate feedback on the ways in which the Project was being managed and developed, both at LEA and institutional levels.
- (ii) to provide the TVEI Unit with further information about the way in which the Project was being developed at the LEA level, both to add to the findings of the national evaluation, and also to provide independent evidence for accountability purposes.

Although local evaluations were commissioned by LEAs, and were seen in most respects as being intended for their own benefit, the expectation from the MSC was that the evaluation findings would be shared with the TVEI Unit, and that local evaluation reports would be made available

for the use of its evaluation staff [see for instance TVEI Evaluation Leaflet 2, (MSC 1984)].

External evaluation was not made an integral part of the TVEI contract with LEAs until some two years after the start of the Initiative. This meant that evaluation was given low priority by some LEAs, and was seen as an obligation rather than a necessity. The attitudes of TVEI projects to external evaluation not only affected the methodology which could be used during this research, but also the access which was available to projects, institutions, meetings and published data (see Chapter 2).

A further consequence of the delayed start of the contractually imposed external evaluation, was that the TVEI Unit did not make it clear to LEAs that this work should be augmented by the evaluation conducted by staff within the LEA. It seemed, at that stage, that the MSC had not stressed sufficiently that TVEI schemes were pilot projects from which lessons might be learned and later acted upon. This situation was made worse when the universal Extension phase of TVEI was announced in 1986 in the White Paper, 'Working Together - Education and Training' (DoE/DES 1986), for it then became apparent that LEAs were expected, when submitting proposals for entry to TVEI Extension, to articulate the lessons that had been learned from the evaluation of their pilot schemes, and to utilise these in the planning for their Extension proposals. A number of submissions for TVEI Extension funding were turned down as a consequence of a failure to do this.

A fairly common feature of TVEI pilot projects was that Local Authority advisers and inspectors were largely excluded from the development of their own LEA schemes. They tended not to provide advice and support, or become involved in evaluating the scheme at institutional and project levels (Sims 1989). Prior to the decision that LEAs should appoint external local evaluators, the responsibility for internal evaluation had often been undertaken by the TVEI project co-ordinators. These individuals were responsible for the management of the entire TVEI schemes within their Authorities. This meant that not only was evaluation frequently given a low priority, but it often lacked rigour and commitment. The validity of schemes being evaluated by their own authors and directors was also highly questionable. The requirement that LEAs should appoint external evaluators caused difficulties for some TVEI projects. Despite guidelines having been provided which suggested areas for evaluation (MSC 1984a), LEAs were often unclear about the processes involved. This led in some instances to external evaluators being appointed to work within guidelines that were vague and, in the light of experience, inadequate (Hodge 1987b,e).

When TVEI was introduced, evaluation had already started to become an integral part of the British educational scene, but it was not yet common practice. A few LEAs had previously considered ways of reviewing their own institutions (eg Solihull and ILEA), and some curriculum development schemes had been evaluated (eg The Schools Council Integrated Humanities Project). However, the requirement that every TVEI scheme should be evaluated introduced a level of operation for which the required expertise and commitment were not readily

available. This situation was exacerbated by the expectation, within the guidelines, that evaluation should be formative, developmental and wide ranging.

Most TVEI projects turned to Higher Education institutions for their evaluation. A number of these establishments responded in a positive way. Many of those that did already had academic staff with some experience of evaluating educational programmes, or with an interest in this field. However, the number of experienced evaluators, who were available within the universities and colleges at the time, was limited, as was the time that they had available for such work. Indeed, one of the problems arising out of TVEI was that the evaluation of an entire project, with its numerous strands of development, was found to be very time consuming. It was found that a considerable involvement by the evaluator with the work of the LEA concerned was required, if the exercise was to be as rigorous as the MSC had envisaged.

A further problem was that the funding available for evaluation was limited (ca. £4,000 per annum). This meant that Higher Education institutions could not afford to devote much of their staff time to this activity. One way around this situation, which appeared attractive at the time, was for universities and colleges to obtain the contracts for the evaluation of a number of TVEI projects, and to employ full-time evaluators.

The commitment to the formative evaluation of a TVEI scheme by a Higher Education institution was generally for the life of the Project (ie five years). In most cases the institution further committed itself to the production of a summative evaluation report based on a longitudinal study. Although, for the institution, TVEI represented a large investment in time and personnel, the financial reward was comparatively small. However, other potential benefits for the institution were quite substantial. The main benefit was the opportunity to develop links with the Authority concerned, which, in turn, could lead to further joint developments in the future. In addition, the involvement of staff with a nationally funded scheme, as prestigious as TVEI, also had clear possibilities for the status of the institution, and might lead to further contracts of a similar sort. However, since TVEI was also a highly contentious initiative (Hargreaves 1984), some Higher Education institutions preferred not to become involved.

Eventually, the external evaluation of TVEI projects was undertaken by a small group of Higher Education institutions scattered around the Country. Each institution became associated with a group of TVEI schemes. When it was clear that external evaluation was mandatory, this led to Higher Education institutions making bids to individual LEAs for their TVEI evaluation contracts, a situation which became most pronounced in the third and fourth 'rounds' of TVEI (1985 and 1986). As a result of having made successful bids, the University of Warwick gained the contracts for the evaluation of five TVEI projects - Coventry, Powys, Solihull, Walsall and Warwickshire. While four of

these had obvious local links with the University, Powys was clearly more distant. This gave rise to problems during the evaluation of this project as a result of the additional travelling times involved.

The evaluation of the four TVEI projects, which commenced in 1984, was conducted initially by a number of staff from the Faculty of Education of the University:

- Coventry** - Professor David Jenkins (assisted by a number of Research Fellows appointed on an annual basis, and a Coventry teacher seconded for 1 day a week by the LEA),
- Powys** - Professor John Eggleston,
- Solihull** - Dr Les Bell and Mr Martin Merson,
- Warwickshire** - Professor John Eggleston (initially assisting the work of the Local Authority's advisers and inspectors).

The evaluation of the Walsall scheme began when this LEA joined TVEI in 1985, and was carried out by Dr Les Bell and Mr Martin Merson.

The evaluation contracts, agreed with the five Authorities, committed the University to producing regular reports on the management of each project and on the progress made by each TVEI institution. This involved the team of evaluators in a considerable amount of in-depth work. Some members of the team found it difficult to complete the

necessary fieldwork in addition to their other duties and, as a result, it was decided in 1986 to appoint a temporary full-time Research Officer, on secondment from Warwickshire LEA, to undertake some of the evaluation work relating to TVEI. The position was advertised as a one year appointment in the first instance, and was made available, on a competitive basis, to senior teachers from Warwickshire schools. The Author was appointed to this post from September 1986. He became a member of a new team of evaluators for the Coventry project, which then consisted of:

Mr Martin Merson, Mr George Timmons, Professor David Jenkins, Mr Doug Harwood and the Author.

In addition he was given oversight of the evaluation of the schemes in Powys and Warwickshire. A Warwickshire TVEI Report commented:

'A Warwickshire teacher has been seconded to Warwick University to act as an evaluation research officer. The project hopes that he will be able to provide a more complete picture of the project than has emerged before.'

(Jones 1986 p13)

The time available to the Author, to carry out full-time evaluation work, was extended by Warwickshire County Council and the University for a second year from September 1987.

The secondment permitted the successful candidate to register for a higher degree of the University, so that the opportunity could be taken to pursue an in-depth research study of a particular aspect of TVEI.

1.3 THE RESEARCH TOPIC.

The actual thesis which will be explored is:

'That the impact of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative in educational institutions, has depended on the previous attitudes which have been shown towards the management of change both within the institutions and in the Local Education Authority responsible, and also on the nature and extent of the support of the Project, and to some degree on the nature of the Project itself'.

The importance of this research was the opportunity it presented to contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of educational change. In particular, it allowed an investigation to be carried out into the impact of a new style of educational initiative which:

- had been introduced, on a national scale, with a certain degree of pressure on LEAs to become involved resulting from the considerable funding available;
- was managed centrally by an organisation that previously had been primarily responsible for structured training programmes;
- demanded contractually agreed outcomes in return for the funding provided;
- introduced new style change agents into LEAs and their institutions in the form of TVEI co-ordinators;

- was managed locally by Local Education Authorities which had substantially different and historically-framed approaches to the management of the educational provision in their areas.

The research, which was carried out through a combination of evaluative studies and other instruments (which are discussed in detail in Chapter 2), had as its main objectives:

- an examination of the impact that TVEI was having on three LEAs and their institutions;
- an exploration of the changes which were taking place;
- an examination of how these changes were being brought about.

In addition, the research considered the management approach adopted by the MSC and the nature of the interactions which took place between the TVEI Unit and the LEAs involved.

The discussion of TVEI in subsequent Chapters will be based upon all three projects which were evaluated in order to obtain a comparative study. The projects formed a cross-section of TVEI developments, representing as they did a range of traditions and environments (inner-city (Coventry), urban (Warwickshire), rural (Powys)). In order to give greater insight into the functioning of TVEI at the institutional level, case studies relating to the seven schools and colleges involved

in Powys will be considered in Chapter 6. The reasons for selecting Powys were that, compared with the other two projects:

- there was a considerable distance between the institutions involved, which made communication and collaboration more difficult;
- the value systems of the institutions varied considerably, and tended to reflect the differing cultures of the communities that they served. This had possible consequences for the adoption of educational change;
- the schools varied considerably in size. As a result it was possible to investigate the effect of this factor on the management of innovation;
- there was a considerable variation of educational practice between the institutions, which meant that some were more prepared for change than others;
- the LEA had not previously been in the vanguard of educational innovation;
- the LEA had failed to create structures for dealing with curriculum development projects;

- the opportunities for meeting some of the aims of TVEI were limited by the rural nature of the County; for instance, the lack of a broad industrial base in the County had clear implications for employment and work experience opportunities.

His position as external evaluator allowed the Author ready access to the TVEI projects and to all relevant documentation. However, the way in which the field-work was carried out depended to some extent upon the attitudes towards evaluation shown by the individual Authorities (Chapter 2). He was also able to draw upon the work carried out previously by those members of the University's Education Department who had been involved with TVEI evaluation. This enabled him to benefit from their experience of evaluation methodology, and from their knowledge of the LEAs and institutions involved.

While TVEI project evaluation reports were made available to the MSC by the individual LEAs, these were not then shared by the TVEI Unit with local evaluators, and it was impossible to gain easy access to the evaluation studies conducted by researchers working with other projects. Although this was intended to preserve the confidentiality of the evaluation reports, the situation detracted from the usefulness of the total evaluation programme, since there were few opportunities for evaluators to share the results of their individual studies. Some conferences were organised by the MSC for local evaluators, but these tended to be limited in scope and more concerned with issues relating to research methodology, than to TVEI outcomes. However, it was

possible to obtain information about other TVEI projects from informal contacts with other evaluators and with TVEI project co-ordinators.

The main strategies used for this research involved rigorous, longitudinal evaluation studies conducted over a period of two years in each of the three Local Authority areas. The methods used to gather data will be discussed in the next Chapter. Each TVEI institution was visited regularly (at least every three months), when the opportunity was taken to talk with teachers and students, to observe lessons in progress, to attend relevant meetings, and to discuss the findings with the headteachers and TVEI co-ordinators. The results obtained were also discussed with TVEI personnel in each Authority, including the Project Co-ordinator. Not all of the data collected has been used in this thesis.

CHAPTER 2. A DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY USED IN THE PRODUCTION OF THIS THESIS.

2.1 EVALUATION AND RESEARCH.

The research for this thesis was, in the main, carried out through the evaluation of the TVEI pilot projects in three Local Authorities, and from evidence obtained from more national sources. While some of the data was obtained through informal and unstructured channels, most of it was arrived at through extensive fieldwork. During the evaluation process, due regard was given to the quality of the methodologies used in order to secure the information on which the evaluations were based, and also to ensure the reliability and validity of this information.

Whilst, as a result of the contractual obligations resulting from TVEI, there was a concern to collect data which could inform LEAs about future policy decisions relating to their TVEI schemes, every attempt was made to ensure that the collection of the data (the monitoring stage) was carried out with the rigour and sensitivity normally required for research purposes. It has been argued that:

'The evaluation process will be fundamentally unsound unless it commands evidence which is both valid and reliable'.

(The Society of Chief Inspectors and Advisers 1990, p10)

Evaluation and other forms of research are similar in many ways and yet there are some differences. The differences which do exist are more concerned with what happens to the data and information after the monitoring stage has taken place, rather than with the data collection process itself. Evaluation traditionally has had two major functions:

- (i) to provide a basis upon which decisions about future developments can be taken,
- (ii) to provide evidence from which judgements can be made about the effectiveness, efficiency and quality of the work taking place.

Both of these features imply that the research findings will require interpretation by someone. While evaluators themselves will usually be expected to pass judgements upon their findings, in some cases the findings will be interpreted by others. Such interpretations will then be used by the decision makers for developmental and/or accountability purposes.

In addition, however, it was found during this research that evaluation also played an important role in the change process itself. This was a result of the regular monitoring and feedback, which took place during the formative local evaluation, encouraging TVEI projects to continuously assess the progress that was being made and to make adjustments accordingly. As a result, evaluators took a role in the on-going development of TVEI and became contributors to the management of change process. This had implications for the objectivity of the research/evaluation being carried out, since it was possible at times for evaluators to be evaluating their own work.

Evaluation may be seen as a form of applied research. Wisbet (1980) argued that evaluation is an extension of educational research, sharing its roots, and using its methods and skills. Thus the methodology used in this work, which is described in detail later in this Chapter, is

drawn directly from the repertoire of the academic researcher. The data collection processes, however, were influenced by the ready access to information which TVEI allowed.

Because the evaluation of the TVEI projects was being carried out on behalf of the three LEAs concerned, access to information about the projects, and entry to the institutions involved, was not generally a major problem. In fact, evaluators found that they were able to gain ready access to the heads and principals of institutions, in a way that had not always been possible for those engaged in more 'pure' forms of research in the past. Hargreaves (1983) has argued that researchers showed a bias towards those with low power, since it was easier to negotiate research access. He considered that, as a result, very little was known about the working of senior management teams in schools, even though they made most of the key decisions. The evaluation of TVEI projects has, to a large extent, changed this situation (see Chapters 6 and 7).

The purposes of local evaluation were not necessarily well understood by those involved with TVEI in the LEAs. There was a concern among some individuals that it was solely an appraisal of the work being carried out, with a report being provided to the MSC on any deficiencies which were apparent. The tensions which existed between the use of evaluation for accountability on the one hand, and as a developmental tool on the other, were never fully resolved during the period of this research. Nixon (1989) found similar problems during his work in Sheffield. While the MSC wanted evaluation to serve both

purposes, the LEAs were more ambivalent. Some projects emphasised the developmental nature of evaluation, while others used the outcomes to coerce their institutions into adhering more closely to the TVEI criteria. Although the practitioners in the schools and colleges seemed particularly unclear about the nature of the local evaluation, they opposed its use for accountability purposes.

The main function of these particular evaluation studies was to assist the projects improve their work by providing advice on developmental issues; hence the accountability dimension was minimised as much as possible. To do so, it was necessary to build sound relationships with the various participants. It was essential, for instance, for anxieties to be dispelled as far as possible among staff in the LEAs and institutions, in order to reduce the possible threat that the evaluation activities posed. It was possible to obtain ready access to the institutions and to the people involved, but the perceived 'status' of the evaluator might, on occasions, have militated against the acquisition of sound research data.

Access to information about the projects was not a problem either, except in so far that, because LEAs were engaged in TVEI pilot schemes, the quantity of information passing back and fore between the LEAs and the MSC, and also between the LEAs and their institutions, was so great that it was impossible to be fully aware of all the material that was becoming available. A similar point can be made about TVEI at the national level, since it was a problem for researchers engaged in formative evaluation to ensure that they were fully aware of all the

information and changing circumstances that existed. To some extent, however, this research benefited from the support of a team of colleagues who were involved in similar work, and from a cross-LEA perspective. These factors allowed a national overview of the Initiative to be more readily obtained.

All TVEI evaluations were concerned with the formative development of projects. The way in which this research was eventually conducted was to some extent, therefore, governed by the issues that the LEAs themselves wanted to explore. Although the issues were negotiated with the headteachers and project co-ordinators, the methodology was generally determined by the evaluator. However, it was considered both courteous, and a part of the process of building good relationships with the TVEI personnel involved, to ensure that the evaluation timetable, and the methodology to be used, were arranged and understood by participants before fieldwork visits to the schools took place. In fact, in most cases, visits were arranged through the TVEI project co-ordinators, while at the school and college level, visits were always arranged through either the headteacher/principal or the institution's TVEI co-ordinator.

2.2 THE RESEARCH METHODS.

There are three main ways of obtaining research data:

- i) **Experimental Research** - through the use of 'scientific' methods and control experiments.
- ii) **Survey Research** - by obtaining a general overview of a development through the collection of a large amount of data

by wide spread questionnaire methods, and/or the use of documentary sources.

- 111) Ethnographic Research - in which the researcher attempts to work within his research area and tries to 'understand' what is occurring as a natural process.

The evaluation of TVEI projects required the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. The MSC distinguished between 'hard' (quantitative) and 'soft' (qualitative) data collection in TVEI programmes (Evaluation Leaflet number 5), by referring to **hard data** as statistical/numerical information concerning pupil numbers, examination results, staying-on rates, financial costs; and **soft data** as information about the attitudes of participants and others towards TVEI and the changes taking place. Whilst all three of the approaches listed earlier could be used to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data, the first two methods are most suitable for the collection of quantitative evidence since the ethnographic approach is intrinsically more concerned with obtaining qualitative data relating to the particular case being studied than with quantitative information.

The MSC established national evaluation systems in order to collect both qualitative and quantitative data relating to TVEI. At the local level, decisions about the approach to be used, and the sort of data to be collected, were left to the Local Authorities and their evaluators.

The Instruments which were used.

This research project uses both qualitative and quantitative data. Most of the quantitative data was collected from documentary sources, although some of it was also obtained through a limited application of survey questionnaires and structured interviews.

1) Documentary Materials and other sources of data.

The documented data which was available enabled the contents of reports and submissions to the MSC to be cross-referenced with the views of individual participants. This was a strategy used particularly when talking with project co-ordinators and LEA advisers and officers.

11) Questionnaires.

Questionnaires were not used in the survey sense, since the size of the sample groups was too small. However, a role-clarification checklist questionnaire was used with some of the co-ordinators and headteachers, and attitudinal questionnaires were administered to pupils in some of the schools involved. It was not felt necessary or appropriate to use broader survey questionnaires, because of the diverse nature of the institutions and LEAs that were involved in this particular research. The questionnaires that were used were intended to support other research instruments, and, therefore, it was not considered necessary to pilot them, since any inadequacies in the data obtained could be corrected at a later stage.

111) Semi-structured Interviews.

In order to provide a greater 'focussing' mechanism for the investigation, semi-structured interviews were used with individual people. Semi-structured interviews are ones in which the researcher has a framework of questions prepared to which he wants to obtain answers, but in which there is sufficient flexibility for the interviewees to develop their own train of thought. The whole process is facilitated by the researcher. In designing the semi-structured interview schedules, careful note was taken of comments made by Wragg (1984) about the need to minimise the problems of:

- (i) Interviewer bias - by careful design of the schedules,
- (ii) Respondent bias - by as far as possible triangulating the results of interviews which were obtained,
- (iii) Sample bias - by interviewing as wide a cross-section of participants as time allowed.

Problems did occur on occasions. For instance, it was not always possible to ensure the undivided attention of interviewees for the whole of a session, often due to the pressures of their work. Every attempt was made to minimise these effects, and in general this was successful. Because the interviews were semi-structured, it was not considered necessary to pilot the schedules first, since the framework was sufficiently flexible to allow respondents to

provide information that they wished to give. The instruments were seen as facilitating the interviews rather than restricting them.

iv) Diary Observation.

In addition to questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, the methodology also included limited use of diary observation. This was carried out specifically to investigate the work of the school TVEI co-ordinators. Diaries were used to find out more about the roles and responsibilities of these individuals. The information obtained from their diaries was cross-triangulated against the results of the semi-structured interviews which were also held with the co-ordinators. The diaries allowed for a longitudinal recording of activities to be carried out over an extensive period of time. It was less threatening to the participants involved, to record information in this way than to be 'tracked' for long periods of time by the researcher.

The demands from the three projects being studied were generally for more qualitative information, particularly where this related to the attitudes of staff and students towards the changes which were being introduced as a result of TVEI. As a consequence, therefore, there was a need to consider research approaches which would bring this about.

v) Group Interviews.

Some of the interviews with pupils were carried out on a group basis. This allowed some measure of the degree of support for a particular issue to be determined from the reactions of the group.

Group interviews were sometimes carried out by interviewing a number of groups from the same cohort at different times using the same interview schedule. This minimised the effects of group pressure response, in which the views of one or two individuals could possibly have affected the views of the rest of the group.

vi) Classroom Observation.

Since TVEI was a scheme concerned with changes in the content and delivery of the curriculum, a considerable amount of classroom observation was carried out. This was done in as sensitive a way as possible, since this particular form of research can be threatening for the teachers concerned. It was made clear that the intention was to gather evidence about the classroom processes and not to evaluate the teacher's performance (ie it was not appraisal observation).

It was realised that the complexity of classroom activity necessitated the use of structured observation schedules. However, the schedules were designed to minimise the problem of them being so complicated that they would be difficult to use and to interpret. Schedules were used which, while providing structure for the research, allowed sufficient flexibility for more general insights to be gained into the events which were occurring. The observations carried out focussed on both teacher and pupil activities, and covered a number of categories including teacher talk, pupil talk, teacher activity and pupil activity.

Classroom observation was carried out, either by selecting TVEI groups that were being taught at an appropriate time, or by shadowing an individual TVEI pupil, chosen at random, for half a day. The data obtained from classroom observation was compared with the views of pupils and teachers gathered from interviews and informal conversations, and thus the information obtained complemented the triangulation processes that were used to maximise the validity and reliability of the research data.

vii) Conversation with participants.

Much of the data was collected through informal conversations with participants (individually and in groups) at all levels in the three projects. The key to the success of this approach was to develop an easy relationship with the individuals who were engaged in conversation, so that they did not see it as a threatening situation. This particular technique seemed to work best after a period of familiarisation within the schools and colleges involved, when the evaluator-institution relationship was perceived to be supportive. This technique proved particularly useful for obtaining a wide over-view of the issues involved in the research, and it also provided a mechanism to gain acceptability in the institution by meeting teachers on their own 'territory'.

Informal and formal interviews were held with all the TVEI institution headteachers, with the co-ordinators in the projects' schools and colleges, and with all the central TVEI personnel in the projects concerned, ie project co-ordinators, careers officers, and curriculum

development staff. In addition formal and informal meetings were arranged with those LEA officers and advisers who had a direct responsibility for the TVEI projects. Within the institutions concerned, interviews were held with a large number of teaching staff, both those who were directly involved with TVEI and those who were not, and also with a large number of pupils.

Other people connected with TVEI were interviewed. These included the MSC managers of the three projects and their Regional Advisers; the HMI involved in the evaluation of the projects; elected members and senior officers of the three LEAs who were members of their local Steering Groups; local industrialists who had accepted TVEI pupils for work experience. As a result, considerable insights were gleaned into the perceptions of a large range of individuals about the management and development of TVEI, both locally and nationally.

Earlier in this Chapter, it was shown that there were three main approaches to carrying out research studies: experimental, survey and ethnographic. The nature of the curriculum and organisational changes being encouraged through TVEI did not readily allow for a study based upon scientific methods to be used. It was difficult, for instance, for the researcher to set up controlled experiments between Authorities and institutions. While it might have been possible for those introducing TVEI, in the first place, to have considered the use of this strategy, and to have built some comparative study into the life of the Project from the very beginning, it was not feasible for a single researcher, working on already established projects, to do so.

Since local evaluators were intended to be independent of both the MSC and the LEAs, they were not in a position to engineer events in order to assist their research, nor indeed should they have attempted to do so, since this would have compromised their neutral role. Instead evaluators were observers of history. The nature of their role sometimes made them players, however, when projects sought advice and support from their evaluators.

The MSC was interested in comparing the outcomes for pupils who had undergone the TVEI 'experience' with those who had not, and also in making comparisons between those institutions which had been involved, and those that had not. This sort of analysis, however is not readily controllable or easily measurable by scientific means, nor does it fit easily within the compass of the work of a local evaluator concerned with small-scale formative research. To investigate comparisons between pupils and institutions, the MSC commissioned, as part of the national evaluation programme for TVEI, a number of survey studies. These involved the large-scale collection of information from projects through data banks, and through large scale questionnaires. However, this data was not made immediately available to local evaluators. Instead researchers had to rely on occasional analyses of this data (eg MSC 1987, 1989), without having access to all the information which had been collected.

The interim findings of the national evaluation of TVEI (MSC 1987), indicated that the variations between LEAs and institutions were such that any attempt to generalise about the Initiative, even at the

national level, was difficult. Any attempt to draw conclusions from the use of survey techniques in three very different LEAs was not likely, therefore, to be a profitable exercise for the evaluator. However, whenever it was found useful to collect comparative information about the institutions within a particular LEA, either of a qualitative or quantitative nature, this was done, and the results were then used to inform the final conclusions. The main approach to data collection for this research, however, was ethnographic.

2.3 THE ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH.

There was a need to gather information through as much immersion as possible in the actual processes taking place. Having considered the possible use of various research methods, it was decided that the most generally applicable style would be ethnographic. This sort of research style has often been referred to as the 'social anthropology' approach since, in a sense, researchers actually attempt to 'live among' the people that they are studying, and seek to share their lifestyles and activities. In the case of this research study, a 'Researcher Participant' (Gans 1982) style was adopted. Total immersion in the work of any of the TVEI projects was impractical, given the constraints of time, and hence although the researcher had an involvement in the social situations of the groups being studied, this was only partial, and was directed at fulfilling the requirements of the research instruments.

The ethnographic research style is based upon the assumption that what people say and do is consciously and unconsciously shaped by their

social situation. Ethnographers need to be sensitive to the way they enter a setting, and must carefully establish a role that facilitates the collection of information (Wilson 1977). In addition, Gold (1958) argued that ethnographers must make decisions about how involved they will become in community activities, because their own activities will influence the ways in which people react to them. Bruyn (1966) claims that one of the most important features of the ethnographic approach is that participants must come to trust and value the observers enough to be willing to share intimate thoughts with them and to answer their endless questions. He believes that outsiders, occasionally coming in and talking to people, do not have the opportunity systematically to cultivate a role that facilitates collection of all kinds of information at various levels. Similarly, as Wilson (1977) has shown, the subjects of the research are not always able to articulate their perspectives for themselves, thus the researchers must find ways of helping them to do this, and also to find ways to cultivate awareness of the latent meanings behind their observations without becoming so over-involved that they become oblivious to the events taking place.

The basic ethnographic method used in this research was further enhanced by what has been referred to as the **hypothetico-deductive approach** (McCormick and James 1988). The starting point for the study was careful observation of the events that were occurring. This observation was informed by a review of the literature and documents pertinent to the work being undertaken. The inter-relationships between the features identified then enabled hypotheses to be constructed about the possible effects that these features might have

on the ways in which the TVEI projects were progressing. In the light of the hypotheses which were developed, it was possible to focus on issues which seemed to be particularly relevant. During this process, the research methods were selected in order to explore fully the specific issues which had been identified.

Ribbins (1986) has described this particular style of enquiry as the Interpretive approach, in that the sequence used is:

Observation & data collection...→ Hypothesis...→ Theory construction

The research begins with a careful study of what is happening, the observations are interpreted by the researcher, and possible hypotheses to explain the observations are created and tested. Where the hypotheses appear to satisfy the various observations, it is possible to begin to construct theories about these events. The Interpretive approach is considered by Ribbins to be fundamentally different to the Positivist approach, in which the sequence is:

Theory construction...→ Hypothesis ...→ Observation & data collection

In this case the researcher sets out to look for evidence to support the ideas he already has about the ways in which the participants will function, rather than beginning with an analysis of how they actually regard their own circumstances. The principal objection to the use of the Positivist approach in this study was that, since TVEI was a very large, complex and novel type of innovation, it would be difficult to

pre-judge the likely rationale for its development in any way that was valid. The intention, therefore, was to utilise an Interpretive approach, in order to enter upon the research with few preconceptions about the possible outcomes, and to allow reality to emerge in a fundamentally phenomenological way; ie through an acceptance of the principle that views of reality do indeed differ between observers and participants, and that any study needs to take this into account. However, problems were encountered within this approach.

Problems within an Ethnographic Approach.

Many of the problems stemmed from the nature of the evaluation, especially the number of projects involved and the need to produce agreed outcomes within predetermined time scales. Thus there was insufficient time to get 'immersed' in the work of the institutions in the way that the ethnographic approach seemed to require. It also proved to be very difficult to maintain an impartial observer role during the developmental processes that were taking place. This will be considered further in the next section, but in order to be able to make judgements about the work observed, it was necessary to consider the usefulness and purpose of the various observations that were made. While this did not affect the way in which data was collected during the field-work periods, it probably changed the perceptions of some people in the institutions about the purpose of the visits that were made. It was, for instance, anticipated that, as a result of these visits, verbal reports would be made to the headteachers and other staff of the schools, which not only provided factual material and impressions, but also gave some evaluative feedback and advice for

further development. For some staff this would have been seen as potentially threatening.

The effect of the outcome of the research on the nature of the approach undertaken is an important issue. While it did not necessarily undermine the reliability and validity of the research, it probably did, to some extent, influence the views of people in the institutions. This made it difficult, therefore, for the role of a participant in the affairs of each institution to be maintained. For example, views about the project were sought from the researcher by participants in the project. The problems caused by (i) a lack of time to gain an in-depth knowledge of the projects in a truly ethnographic way, and (ii) having to make value judgements which possibly affected the relationships that were being fostered with participants, made it necessary for the research methodology to be amended accordingly.

A Modification of the Ethnographic approach.

Attempts were made to glean information through observation of as many aspects of the three TVEI projects as possible. These included attendance at:

- School staff and departmental meetings,
- Meetings of institution co-ordinators,
- Annual Reviews (also known as Planning Dialogues) which took place between the LEA and MSC (see Chapter 5).
- Steering Group meetings (these were the groups within the LEA, responsible for the management of TVEI, and which involved local industrialists, officers, and elected members).

- Curriculum development group meetings.
- Staff development and INSET sessions.

In addition the work of students was observed through:

- visits to students on work experience.
- participation in field courses,
- attending lessons in progress in the TVEI schools and colleges.

It was necessary to sharpen the focus of some of the work being carried out in order to adapt it more to the limited time-scale, and to the situation of being a participant-observer in the processes of change and development. Studies were made of:

- the educational effects of TVEI,
- the social and professional interactions of people involved in the Projects,
- the educational climate in which TVEI was operating,
- the use of equipment and resources.

The information obtained was then used to triangulate against the researcher's perceptions of the events taking place. These approaches were used at different times in all of the schools and colleges being studied. Each institution was visited regularly (at least once every three months) for up to a day at a time. This provided the researcher with the opportunity to talk informally with teachers and students, to observe lessons in progress, to attend meetings, to interview staff and to discuss immediate impressions with the headteachers and TVEI co-ordinators. The findings were written up in the form of interim reports which were then discussed with all interested parties. Any obvious inaccuracies were corrected at this stage. The evaluation reports were

also discussed with TVEI personnel in each LEA, including the project co-ordinator and the heads and principals of the institutions involved.

The Data collection.

Ribbins (1986) has considered that data collection can take two forms in an Interpretive style of research - observation and interrogation.

Observation is a systematic process of data collection in which the researchers watch and listen to the things those who are subject to their research say and do, whilst,

Interrogation, on the other hand, is a systematic process of data collection in which the researchers talk to those who are the subject of their research about the things they think, say and do.

In this research the data was collected by a combination of these two strategies since it appeared necessary not only to observe the effects that TVEI funding was having on the institutions, but also to determine the attitudes of the participants to the changes that were taking place. The following major sources of research data were obtained during the two-year field-work period:

- two semi-structured interviews with each of the headteachers and principals of the 13 schools and colleges involved;
- an attitudinal questionnaire about TVEI completed by each of the headteachers and principals;

- three semi-structured interviews with each institution co-ordinator;
- a role-clarification questionnaire completed by each institution co-ordinator;
- a two week activity diary completed by each institution co-ordinator;
- 41 semi-structured interviews with individual teaching staff in all of the schools and colleges, covering a range of curriculum and pastoral areas;
- semi-structured interviews with the TVEI careers officers in Powys and Warwickshire;
- twelve group interview sessions with pupils from Years 10, 11, 12 and 13 in each of the TVEI schools in Powys and Warwickshire;
- four group interview sessions with students in the FE Colleges in Powys and Warwickshire;
- two attitudinal questionnaires from sixth form pupils in one of the Coventry schools;
- observation of 52 lessons in progress: involving students in different year groups in all the schools and colleges, in a range of curriculum areas;
- visits to ten pupils on work experience in Powys and Warwickshire, and semi-structured interviews with the employers involved;
- two semi-structured interviews with each of the Project Co-ordinators.

Reference has already been made to the necessity for ensuring that the data collection processes were both rigorous and methodical; in addition, it was necessary for the data itself to be both reliable and valid.

2.4 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF DATA.

The research was designed to ensure the reliability of the material which was collected. McCormick and James (1988) consider that it is essential for another researcher, or the same researcher on another occasion, to be able to replicate the original piece of research and to achieve comparable evidence or results. One of the major difficulties when obtaining material through the ethnographic approach is that reliability can be questionable, since it is based, to some extent, on a combination of hunches and the interpretations of individual and group perceptions of reality. The research methods were designed to overcome the possible inadequacy of the instruments used, by comparing and contrasting different perceptions of the same phenomenon, and by collecting as many accounts as possible. This approach is often referred to as 'Triangulation' (Patton 1980) and, as a method, it allows a sharing of the same perceptions by the researcher and those involved in the research, and permits further dialogue to take place over any apparent discrepancies which might be uncovered.

Another major concern about any research methodology is how valid the information is. McCormick and James (1988) consider that researchers need to demonstrate that the observations that they actually record and analyse, match what they purport to be recording and analysing. This

particular issue is complicated in the ethnographic approach because, although the stated perceptions of individuals will be valid for them (unless they are deliberately trying to deceive the researcher, or to provide information that they believe he wants to receive), their individual interpretation of reality might not be appropriate for others. Individuals' perceptions of reality can be conditioned, for instance, by:

- how much information they really have, compared with how much of it is mere hear-say, or is affected by inadequate collection or recall;
- how much their reality is influenced by their particular attitudes to the information;
- how far their previous perceptions affect their new perceptions.

Ribbins et al (1981) have argued that all teachers have their own peculiar perceptions about what is going on around them and that there are as many interpretations of reality as there are teachers. They consider that any attempt to categorise these perspectives, even if they are grounded in the 'accounts' which teachers themselves offer, can damage considerably the subtlety and uniqueness of each teacher's understanding of his world. This phenomenological position is a difficult one for the researcher in the social sciences to deal with. In this research the problem was minimised by obtaining data from a wide range of sources, and then comparing and contrasting this data in order to reach a common understanding with as many people as possible. Whilst it was impossible to be certain that reality had actually been

described, it was at least feasible to attain a shared interpretation, and a commonly recognised vision, of that reality. This strategy also had the effect of increasing the reliability of the results because the data was collected from a range of informed sources.

Perceptions of events were also tested by producing interim evaluation reports. These were discussed with the participants, both to compare the views expressed in the reports with those of others, and to provide a base-line from which to carry out the next stage of the research. Much of the reporting back had, however, to be limited to headteachers and co-ordinators, due to the time limitations enforced upon this work. This might have led to the senior managers having shared views but not necessarily the class teachers. There was also the very real possibility that the report itself might have had an effect on the situation which had previously existed, by bringing about a shift in that position. This factor, often referred to as the 'Reflexivity Element', is one which is very difficult to either control or quantify, since it depends on how far the change agents in the LEAs and institutions want (or are able) to make use of this sort of commentary to bring about change. However, considerable value was gained from using formative evaluation reports within this research, in order to develop an understanding of the situations which were developing, and to obtain an increased empathy with the LEAs and their institutions. This could be seen as positively off-setting any other effects that the reports might have had on previously held positions.

A particular problem, when trying to ensure validity in the evaluation of TVEI, was that because the projects were generally under-funded for the purposes of evaluation, they did not provide the evaluator with sufficient resources to spend adequate time within each project. About four days a year were spent in each institution, with up to a further ten days being spent within each LEA, attending meetings, observing curriculum and staff development groups, talking with the project co-ordinators and other officers. This did not allow the researcher time to get sufficiently involved in the work of the projects; double the amount of time spent in the institutions would probably have been more appropriate. Harland (1985) has recognised this as a common problem with 'categorically funded' projects. In addition, the expectations of LEAs, schools and teachers about evaluation can be difficult to meet in practice. This view is shared by Hutchinson et al (1988), who have argued that the problem of validity, in such cases, might be overcome by the use of one, or more, of four possible strategies:

- (i) The employment of triangulation procedures - ie the cross-referencing of different participants' perceptions (See for instance Patton 1980, and Jick 1983).
- (ii) Cross-referencing data from as many sources as possible, eg from observation, interviews and questionnaires.
- (iii) The use of focussing in order to concentrate available resources on a limited number of issues which are clearly defined in the researcher's mind.

- (iv) The need to generate 'grounded theory' * (Glaser and Strauss 1967), in order to produce a researcher's perception of the work being evaluated, which can then be compared with the perceptions of the participants.

These various approaches were employed at different times during this research, and became integral to its development.

Another factor affecting the production of valid data was that, since TVEI was a pilot scheme, there were some staff in each project who had gained such a degree of ownership of the scheme, that they were not necessarily willing to admit the problems or failures in their work. These were the 'zealots of TVEI'. As a result, there was a need carefully to consider sensitivities when reporting findings, while not allowing the research to be misinterpreted in any way, since the researcher's future access to participants might have been affected. As a corollary to this situation, there were also some teachers who were possibly over cautious about attaching any value or success to the work that they were carrying out, and here the research findings proved to be supportive in enhancing their self-esteem.

* Grounded Theory has been defined as an attempt to form an on-going hypothesis, as a result of the data which has been collected, which can then allow further data to be set against this particular level of conceptualisation in order to test its accuracy and validity.

In some schools, TVEI was seen as advantaging only some aspects of the work of the school, and staff not involved could sometimes be found demonstrating a degree of antipathy to TVEI that was based to a large extent on their resentment to being excluded. Their resulting perceptions were coloured by bias which was not necessarily representative of the actual state of affairs within the project as a whole.

All of these issues, which are common problems within the ethnographic method, were carefully monitored throughout the research, and were overcome, as far as possible, by obtaining a broad picture of events through the eyes of as many participants and non-participants as possible, and by triangulating the results of the research data in order to produce a commonly shared version of what was happening.

2.5 THE AUDIENCE FOR THE EVALUATION, AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE RESEARCH.

The nature of the audience for evaluation reports was an important issue in the context of this particular research. The ownership of local TVEI evaluation reports lay with the evaluator and the Local Authority concerned. However, since the local evaluation had, in a sense, been commissioned by the MSC through the funding that was made available to projects for this purpose, there was an expectation that local evaluation reports would be forwarded to the TVEI Unit, both to enhance the Unit's knowledge of a project, and to add to the sum of the evaluation material available nationally. However, the fact that any evaluation report on TVEI could have the MSC as part of its potential audience was, on occasions, a factor which prevented some participants

from responding fully to the researcher's questions. Despite the MSC having stated its intention to maintain the confidentiality of the reports received, there was some concern among LEA officers about the possible effect that local evaluation reports might have on the further development of TVEI schemes locally.

There was also an uneasy relationship between project co-ordinators and institutions and the audiences for whom the reports were written. TVEI projects were often in a position of some isolation from the elected members of the LEAs, who, although represented on Project Steering Committees, were not necessarily closely involved with the actual events taking place. It was often the case that those working closely with TVEI in the LEAs saw their immediate paymasters in their LEAs as a more important audience to satisfy than the more distant MSC. Certainly it was possible, on a number of occasions, to note that LEA representatives, and/or headteachers and principals, expressed some concern about the possible reactions of elected members and senior LEA officers to the content of evaluation reports, and were perhaps somewhat guarded, as a result, in the responses that they were willing to make.

2.6 THE DEVELOPMENT OF CASE STUDIES.

The nature of the ethnographic method, which was used in this research, meant that much of the information that was gathered was only valid and reliable for particular cases. In this sense the research carried out was Idiographic (peculiar to the one case) rather than Nomothetic (generalisable to other cases). In some respects it is possible to

consider the work carried out as constituting a series of case studies. Nisbet and Watt (1982) have considered case studies as systematic investigations of specific instances, and in this research the specific instances which were considered included case studies of LEAs, institutions, and identified issues.

Whilst these studies provided valuable insights into each particular case, it was not usually possible to generalise the conclusions which were drawn from each individual study. This research was concerned, therefore, with trying to compare and contrast the case studies in an attempt to highlight the differences and similarities which existed. It is on the analysis of these differences and similarities that the conclusions in Chapters 8 and 9 are based. It is important to note, however, that these conclusions themselves are not then generalisable, although they could stand as a basis for comparisons with future studies.

Since TVEI was a locally managed initiative, it was not possible to compare the developments taking place in different LEAs in any valid sense. In some cases the developments were actually peculiar to single institutions. Hence it was not possible to establish the degree of change with any degree of certainty. The research relied heavily upon the opportunities which arose to cross-reference issues which were observed, in formal and informal situations, and at local and national levels.

It will be clear from what has already been discussed in this Chapter that the evaluation of TVEI placed constraints upon the way in which a researcher operated. This has been recognised by evaluators of other TVEI projects, and the design of this research was influenced by Wragg (1984) who recommended that:

- (i) the evaluation needs to involve extensive discussion with a wide range of participants in TVEI: pupils, teachers, administrators and others concerned with the scheme, thus also including self-evaluation;
- (ii) it should have an influence on practice, but there should be enough distance between evaluator and participants to avoid accusation of collusion;
- (iii) though rigorous experimental designs are not practicable, this rules out neither systematic testing and observation nor the judicious use of quantitative methods;
- (iv) fruitful use could be made of classroom observation, interviews, and attitude questionnaires;
- (v) there is equally a strong case for ethnographic, that is more qualitative, illuminative and interpretive approaches, and this would involve careful record keeping both by participants and evaluators.

The fieldwork carried out in the three projects, which has been described in this Chapter, and which was influenced by these indicators, produced a considerable amount of data. In the remainder of this thesis the outcomes of this research will be considered alongside the views of the many observers of, and participants in, TVEI. An attempt will be made to create a composite picture of the Initiative as it developed, and of the local and national contexts in which it operated. The ways in which the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative attempted to encourage change at the local and national levels will then be analysed.

CHAPTER 3. MSC, TVEI AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE.

3.1 TVEI - A NEW APPROACH TO MANAGING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN BRITAIN.

The introduction of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative has been well documented (see for instance: Barnes 1987, Barnes et al 1987, DES 1985, Evans 1988, Fowler 1985, Gleeson 1987, Harland 1986, Haxby 1983, HMI 1991, McDonagh 1984, NFER 1987, Pyart 1985, Wallace 1986, Woolhouse 1984, 1986). TVEI was not a specific course of study or even a curriculum development project in the narrow sense (MSC 1983). It was, for example, fundamentally different from the Nuffield Science schemes introduced in the early 1970s, which were intended to encourage a new approach to science teaching in schools. Although the Nuffield projects provided LEAs with funding to bring about change in teaching and learning styles, this was unsupported by any contractual obligations to actually bring about change, and the projects were poorly supported in terms of management structures and local change agents.

Fundamentally, TVEI was no more than a set of aims intended to enhance vocational education and training. Responsibility for the actual interpretation and fulfilment of these aims was given to the Local Authorities involved with the Initiative. Since TVEI was not a scheme supported by legislation, entry by LEAs to the Initiative was on a voluntary basis, although the attraction of the funding clearly affected the real freedom available to the individual Authorities to decide this matter. Tensions arose in those LEAs which wanted their schools to bid to become involved in TVEI when the schools did not wish

to. Where LEAs dictated this matter, the eventual ownership of the Initiative by the schools was limited (Hodge 1987b). In other cases, schools decided to bid for TVEI without the full support of their LEA. Where schools operated in this way, the overall success of the scheme, at an Authority level, was sometimes reduced (Merson and Bell 1987).

Figure 3.1 provides a diagrammatic representation of some of the key actions within TVEI projects. The origins of the scheme lay in political intentions to provide an educational diet for young people, which:

- was more closely allied to their needs,
- generated greater adaptability,
- had a vocational slant,
- provided access to new technology.

Control over TVEI was given to the Department of Employment and was operated through the MSC. This was an unusual decision, since it might have been anticipated that the DES was the more obvious agency. Although the rationale behind this decision is not entirely clear, it will be assessed in the next section. LEAs were invited to submit schemes which had been designed to implement TVEI in their own area, and which were expected to fulfil the needs of their institutions. Submissions had to be in line with the aims of the Initiative, and were expected to meet the basic criteria (MSC 1983). In this sense, therefore, TVEI was coercive and intended to force change. It was concerned with generating action rather than debate. The mode of operation of TVEI was primarily executive rather than legislative or advisory (Dale 1985).

The submissions from LEAs were considered by the MSC's TVEI Unit, both for consonance with the aims of TVEI and for the quality of the intended provision. This vetting process was particularly important in the early years of the scheme, since entry to the Initiative was heavily oversubscribed, and acceptance was, therefore, on a competitive basis. The popularity of the scheme with LEAs seemed to have more to do with the available funding than with any perceived educational benefits. When a particular scheme had been accepted by the MSC a contract was drawn up between the TVEI Unit and the LEA concerned, which then bound the LEA to making every effort to deliver its proposals in return for the funding provided by the MSC. In addition, the LEA agreed to have its project monitored and evaluated, and to allow access by MSC staff to officers of the LEA, and to the schools and colleges involved.

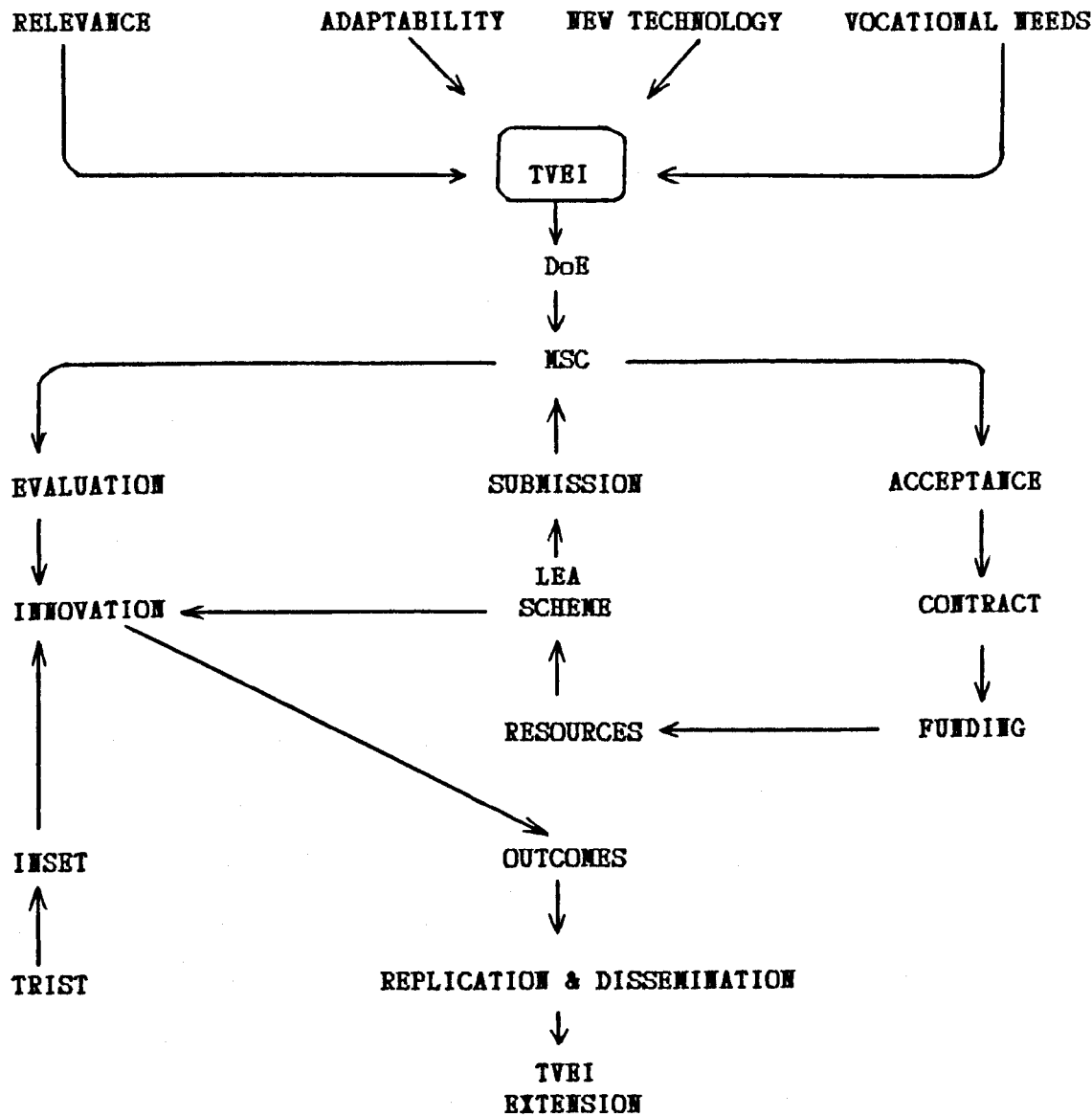
The funding which was provided by the MSC could be used in a number of ways, for instance:

- to provide extra staff,
- to adapt existing buildings or to build new accommodation,
- to purchase equipment.

Although the funding was used in different ways, many projects began by providing quality resources and accommodation for selected departments in a number of pilot schools. This feature tended, however, to alienate a large number of teachers in departments or schools not directly involved with the scheme. Although many of the details

FIG. 3.1.

A REPRESENTATION OF KEY ACTIONS WITHIN TVEI PROJECTS.



relating to the allocation of the resources would have already been agreed between the LEA and the MSC at the submission stage, the LEA had some control over the detail of this expenditure. The LEA was still accountable to the MSC for the way in which the money was spent. This was a particularly important feature during the early part of the scheme. The MSC had its own auditors who supervised budgetary matters, and these were supported by Regional TVEI Advisers whose role was to enquire into all the ways in which schemes developed. As a result, TVEI was different from previous developments in that the pattern, process and pace of the change involved represented an obvious and deliberate break with the essentially incremental or apparently haphazard patterns which had previously typified educational change (Dale 1985).

The sole purpose of the funding provided for TVEI seemed to be to encourage change in curriculum, pedagogy and organisation at both institution and LEA levels. This encouragement to innovate was intended to improve the quality of education being provided in the schools and colleges in ways that would satisfy the aims of the Initiative. In this sense, therefore, TVEI represented a critique of the educational provision in schools in England and Wales at the time, although it became apparent that TVEI seemed less concerned with the actual content of the changes occurring, than with breaking the inertia to change which existed within the system itself.

The considerable funding available to LEAs through TVEI encouraged a high degree of compliance with the criteria laid down for submissions.

There is a tendency in heavily funded innovations for take-up to be based on a desire for extra resources rather than on a perceived need for change (Fiddy and Stronach 1987). In the case of the three projects being considered in this research, the funding did attract the LEAs to submit proposals for entry to TVEI. However, the actual ownership of the submissions by the LEAs was unclear, and their intention to meet the aims of the Initiative was uncertain (Chapter 8). In two of the LEAs, the Initiative was adopted for the money that was available and for the possible future benefits that might accrue. The other LEA used the money to meet the needs of its individual schools rather than to specifically satisfy the aims of the Initiative.

Jackson (1990) has argued that the tactic, introduced by David Young (the then Chairman of the MSC), of springing TVEI on Local Authorities and then using the inducement of extra money to overcome their outraged pride and constitutional reservations, was justified by Young in terms of the eventual success of the programme. However, Jackson points out that Young ignored the extent to which the educators, to whom he had to hand over the shaping of the programme, turned it into something totally different from the concept he had tried to force on the system in the first place. This issue will be a major aspect of the discussion in the remainder of this thesis. An analysis of the extent to which the Initiative did appear to change hands, in the way described by Jackson, will be undertaken in Chapter 9.

TVEI represented a well funded and well supported mechanism for engineering change both in LEAs and in institutions. The scheme was

assisted by Regional Advisers, who offered professional support, and by Area Managers, who provided administrative support. It was underpinned by wide-ranging monitoring and evaluation systems, and had the availability of appropriate INSET opportunities for teachers (*). However, the project had been introduced rapidly, with no consultation with the LEAs, and the LEAs were not allowed to negotiate the schemes that they eventually submitted.

3.2 CHANGE AND INNOVATION: A CONTRAST OF STYLES.

To understand the impact of TVEI on schools, it is important to examine why its introduction into schools in England and Wales should be managed by the MSC rather than by the more usual agency, the DES. This is not an easy issue to address since no definitive reason has been advanced by either body, and hence there must be some reliance on conjecture. TVEI was introduced at a time when there was considerable debate about the ability of the educational system in England and Wales to meet the industrial and economic needs of the Country (Bell 1987, Dale 1985). McCulloch (1987) has argued that the DES, and the educational system more generally, could be held to have failed to provide solutions to deep-rooted educational and social problems.

* The MSC injected extra money into this particular aspect of the education service for a limited period from 1985, in the form of a TVEI Related In-service Training grant (TRIST), which was intended to meet deficiencies observed in staff development provision in the Local Authorities.

As a result, an assumption may have been made by some politicians that the sort of changes envisaged in TVEI would not readily have been accomplished through the DES. In addition the emphasis that TVEI gave to industry links might have suggested that it would be better managed by an organisation more closely linked with the world of work. Since TVEI was concerned with affecting the nature of the curriculum, in ways which would enhance the industrial dimension, the introduction of the MSC might have been seen as a way of eroding the existing, DES approved curriculum balance.

The educational system in England and Wales had traditionally relied upon a partnership between Central and Local Government. Harland (1987) argues that although much has been written about this relationship, the relative powers of each partner in it defy any accurate description. Certainly it had not been an easy partnership, since the nature of the power base had never been clearly articulated. While the DES had represented the views of the Government of the day and had attempted to bring about changes in educational thought and practice, the final decisions about change had to a great extent rested with the LEAs, and often with the institutions themselves. In order to encourage change within the system, the DES traditionally relied upon three main methods of bringing this about:

- (i) Legislation.
- (ii) Persuasion and Suggestion.
- (iii) Specific Grant Funding.

The principal style used by the DES to introduce changes into the LEAs, prior to the introduction of TVEI in 1983, was based more on influence than control. The use of persuasion was more obvious than legislation. Educational legislation had not been used to manage the curriculum in schools (with the exception of the framework laid down in the 1944 Education Act), and while specific education grants had been introduced in the 1960s, these had not been used to influence classroom practice, and had been discontinued in the 1970s. While the DES exercised control over administrative arrangements and organisational issues such as building regulations and teacher qualifications, it played little part in curriculum matters. HMI had tended to preserve their independence from the Department and had also operated more through influence than coercion.

As a process for encouraging change within the educational system, the DES style was very ineffective. It has to be seen as a reflection of the attitudes of a succession of Ministers and Secretaries of State for Education who allowed this situation to continue, and who in some cases deliberately encouraged it. Ministers undoubtedly had the powers to effect change in a more direct form, but these were not generally utilised. In part this reflected the strength of the 'system' (Broadfoot 1986). It also highlighted the relatively low level of importance attached to education by successive governments in the past, both in terms of the priorities that were given to Parliamentary time, and also to the short terms of office allowed to many of the incumbents of ministerial posts in the DES. It is interesting, in the context of this research, to note the increased attention which has

been given to education by successive governments since 1979, and the higher status which recent Secretaries of State (such as Sir Keith Joseph, Kenneth Baker and Kenneth Clarke) appear to have enjoyed. These factors have been influential in creating the climate in which TVEI has operated.

The apparent inability or unwillingness of the DES to change education in a direct way might have been a result of the inertia in the educational system. It was certainly influential in fostering the continuation of such inertia. Sikes and Taylor (1987), for instance, have argued that in the past, attempts at large scale educational innovation were unsuccessful in realizing their objectives, because they encountered 'tradition', inertia and a lack of commitment on the part of those not intimately involved. Where the DES had attempted to introduce changes into the educational system, these had met with varying degrees of success. For instance, Gleeson (1987) has compared the introduction of the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) by the DES with the introduction of TVEI by the MSC. He concluded that whereas the MSC was successful in bringing about changes rapidly, the DES was not. He has also made the point that it was not the funding available to TVEI which made the difference, since CPVE was also a well funded initiative. Rather it was the lack of control over institutions by the DES which led to the significant differences in uptake between the two schemes. It is now possible, in terms of CPVE (which had considerable similarities of purpose to TVEI), to observe that the scheme has not been successful in obtaining the long-term acceptance of the LEAs and institutions, and its future status is seriously in doubt.

The ability of the DES to monitor and control developments in education has been limited, and it is important to compare the model of central management used by the DES, with that of the MSC which has been described earlier in this Chapter. As has been argued, the MSC produced a management strategy for TVEI which involved a specific grant being given to an LEA if, and only if, the LEA applied for the grant. The uses to which this grant could be put were then subject to contractual accountability, and the whole process was closely monitored by MSC personnel (Officers and Regional TVEI Advisers), and evaluated on a local and national scale.

The DES approach to managing change largely emphasised persuasion and rational argument. It pre-supposed a genuine will to innovate at the institutional level. Where legislation was undertaken to introduce specific Government policies, the actual effect at the institutional level was highly dependent upon the attitudes shown by the practitioners involved. Even where changes did result, it took a long time to happen. The DES tended to rely, therefore, on the rationality of the teachers in the institutions, and deliberately set out to disseminate 'good practice' and to influence the professional responses of the practitioners. The DES also tended to act through the LEAs rather than dealing directly with specific institutions. Hence there was the possibility that any changes occurring could be amended as a result of the intervention of an LEA. Some of the more recent legislation has sought to change this situation. There is now much more direct contact between the DES and schools; schools have been given more autonomy and independence from their LEAs; and contractually

arranged funding systems have become increasingly common. In part, a number of these changes can be related to the success of the management style adopted by the MSC. When TVEI was introduced, the MSC seemed to assume that schools and colleges were largely conservative organisations that tended to maintain the status quo as far as possible, and which preferred stability to innovation. As a result, the MSC adopted a model which pressurised LEAs into making rapid changes, and which provided their agents (co-ordinators and Regional Advisers) with the power to direct change wherever they considered this to be necessary. Lea (1984) has commented that the MSC provided the impulse as well as the resources to escape from the vacuum generated by the strong vested interests which had preserved an abstract curriculum model in the face of the limited executive powers available to the DES and HMI.

The differences between the management styles of the two organisations do not, however, fully explain why the Government decided to give the MSC the brief of introducing TVEI, rather than strengthening the position of the DES through legislation as happened later with the introduction of the National Curriculum. Any discussion of the roles of the DES and the MSC could actually be pointless, for there might have been no real conflict between the DES and the MSC over the issue of TVEI. Chitty (1986) has argued that the DES were happy for the MSC to take over those pupils not suited to an academic education and for them to take charge of all vocational education. However, the problem now seems to be that TVEI has become much more than a mere vocational initiative, for it has substantially influenced the curriculum and

organisation of every secondary school and college of Further Education, and the management approach used by many LEAs (HMI 1991).

3.3 DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE.

Educational change is a complex issue. It can occur at different rates, affect different parts of the system and produce varying outcomes. The amount of literature on this subject is extensive, for instance Havelock (1969) identified over 4000 studies. Bolam (1975) has produced a framework for educational innovation, based on an analysis of the existing literature, which was intended to make the understanding of the change process more manageable. Although he recognises this framework is over-simplified, it will none-the-less provide a useful basis to a theoretical consideration of change within TVEI. Bolam argues that in any innovation four major features can be distinguished;

- (i) The Change agent who recommends (ii) The Innovation to (iii) The User, over a period of (iv) Time.

Bolam considered these features as systems which interact with one another during the change process.

(i) The Change agent system.

The change agent might be a teacher, a head, an adviser or a consultant from either inside or outside the particular User system (eg school or college) which is adopting the change. Bolam considers that the most fundamental characteristic of change agents, as far as an innovation is concerned, is their authority relationship with the User system. This authority may be linked,

for instance, to administrative status, professional collegueship, or external consultancy, but in each case the ability of the change agent to encourage/enforce innovation will be dependent upon the nature of this relationship. The categories of change agents operating in TVEI, and the strategies that they employed, varied considerably and will be considered in detail in the next Chapter.

(11) The Innovation system.

Bolam defines innovation as that aspect of change which is a deliberate and intentional process, to distinguish it from the accidental shifts or trends which occur in a more ad hoc fashion within organisations. The nature of the intended innovation is clearly an essential feature in the adoption process, since this will largely define the reaction of the User system to it. Hull et al (1973) have defined innovations as occurring in three main forms: information documents; training materials; installable systems. Bolam recognises that many innovations actually come in the form of untested and vaguely formulated ideas, and as a result innovation is not a clear cut and well defined process. Dalin (1973) and Hoyle (1970) have commented that innovations will usually target certain specific aspects of the user system (eg curriculum, role relationships, administration), rather than be more generalised. However, in relation to TVEI, it has already been demonstrated that the innovation was, in fact, complex and multifaceted, and although, in part, TVEI was based on a clear set of aims and criteria, aspects of the scheme were only vaguely formulated. The Initiative was broadly focussed on producing new strategies for technical and

vocational education and on changing attitudes to teaching and learning.

(iii) The User System.

The User system is that part of the educational service which is being targeted by the change agent. The User system may be an individual teacher, a school, an LEA, or the national education system. Bolam argues that, in the past, too much attention was given to trying to convince individuals of their need to change. He contends that since individuals are rarely free to choose whether or not to adopt change, because they are too constrained by their need for support from colleagues, parents and politicians, change strategies should be aimed more at groups of people such as a whole-school departments. However, although TVEI was an initiative largely aimed at affecting change on a whole-institutional level (through the mediation of the LEAs), the need to convince individual teachers of the benefits of the changes, appeared none-the-less fundamental to the adoption of the Initiative. This will be considered in detail in a later part of this Chapter.

(iv) The Time Dimension.

Gross and Bernstein (1971) consider that innovation is a dynamic social process which takes place over time, during which modifications to the original innovation will be made as a result of the social process itself. Fullan (1972) suggests that the User system can indeed be usefully treated as a social system during any analysis of change, since innovation will be dependent on the way in

which participants interact with one another and are willing to share and use each others developments. Hull et al (1973) have analysed three stages in the innovation process over time:

- (i) **The Antecedent Stage** (before); in which the Change agent system, the Innovation system and the User system exist separately, although each may already have a relationship with one other. The nature of any pre-existing relationship could, however, have a vital effect on the later innovation process.

- (ii) **The Interactive Stage** (during); in which the three systems are actually interacting with each other. During this stage the strategies used by the change agent will be critical, as will the reactions that are made by the User system to both the strategies employed and the innovation itself.

- (iii) **The Consequent Stage** (after); in which the three systems become separate again. Here it is quite likely that the User system will appear changed as a result of the interaction with the innovation and the change agent, although by how much and in what ways are moot points. The change agents may also have altered their approaches, and possibly their attitudes to the innovation, as a result of the interaction; the innovation too could have become modified as a result of having gone through the implementation process.

Because this research was carried out during the life-time of the TVEI projects, it was difficult to obtain a totally accurate picture of the 'Antecedent Stage'; this information had to be obtained from secondary sources rather than through direct observation. Similarly, since the Initiative was on-going during the period when this research was being conducted, it was not possible for the 'Consequent Stage' to be properly observed. Although some innovations began and ended during the life-time of the project, because these were all broadly happening under the aegis of TVEI, they could still be interpreted as part of the 'Interactive Stage', since the Innovation system, the User system and the Change agent system frequently remained the same. It was, however, possible to observe the trends taking place during the lifetime of the three projects, which allowed an increased understanding of the processes of innovation with time to be gained.

It is widely recognised that the implementation of innovation is often slow. Mort (1964), for instance, argued that there could be a fifty-year time-lag between a need being identified and the appearance of an innovation to meet that need, and a further fifteen years before the innovation was adopted by just three per cent of schools. In the case of TVEI, the speed of introduction was very much greater, and the time dimension of this particular project was very different from innovations of the past (eg the Raising of the School Leaving Age, the introduction of comprehensive education, the development of the Certificate of Secondary Education). The reasons for this were largely a result of the management approaches used by the MSC.

Bolam (1975) considered that the framework that he produced to assist with an understanding of change processes generates four questions about the Change agent system, the Innovation system and the User system:

- (i) What are the significant characteristics with respect to any particular innovation process?
- (ii) What were they like before the process began?
- (iii) What happened when they interacted with each other during the process?
- (iv) What were they like at the end of the process?

This research has set out to consider the first three of these questions with specific regard to the TVEI projects in Coventry, Powys and Warwickshire. The fourth question can only be attempted in part, since the projects were still running after the field-work had been completed.

A similar definition of the innovation process, to that provided by Bolam, has been given by Katz, Levin and Hamilton (1963); they have stated that innovation is the:

- (i) acceptance, (ii) over time, (iii) of some specific idea, (iv) by individuals, groups or other adopting units, linked by (v) specific channels of communication, (vi) to a social structure, and (vii) to a given system of values or culture.

In this case the change agent is the specific channel of communication; the innovation is the specific idea; the users are the individuals,

groups or other adopting units, which are linked to a social structure and to a given system of values or culture; the whole process of acceptance of the innovation then takes place over time. There appear, therefore, to be a number of essential elements interacting in the change process. In the next part of this Chapter consideration will be given to these various elements and the ways in which they were found to have an influence on the successful uptake of TVEI. Hoyle (1976), Hull et al (1973), Bernstein (1971) and Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) have identified a number of dimensions of change which allow the innovations occurring in any scheme to be considered against a theoretical framework. These dimensions are:

Rate, Scale, Degree, Continuity, Direction, Unit, Planning.

It has already been argued that TVEI was a fundamentally new approach to managing change, and hence the dimensions suggested by these authors are insufficient to describe the Initiative fully. TVEI presented LEAs with the opportunity of engaging in a curriculum development project if they accepted the aims and criteria set out by the MSC. They received funding for this, but found themselves accountable to the MSC for the ways in which the funding was used. TVEI was also a broadly-based initiative, and many of the changes taking place were diffuse and often unconnected. As a result, other dimensions which need to be considered, are:

Diffusion of change, Pressure for change, Control over change.

In addition, the nature of TVEI was different from many of the curriculum development movements taking place in the 1970's. As a result many of the change-parameters identified by these authors do not equate easily with the identified features of the Initiative. In this section, TVEI will be analysed against a range of dimensions which are given in Figure 3.2. Each dimension is examined against a set of crude indicators which can be seen as benchmarks for each of the dimensions. The dimensions need also to be considered against the three control centres operating in TVEI: the national perspective (the MSC), the district perspective (the LEA) and the local perspective (the institutions), since the dimensions could have different interpretations at each level. It also has to be recognised that the dimensions themselves are interactive and do not stand in isolation from one another, thus the rate of change could be rapid because the pressure for change was high, possibly as a result of a large control factor being in operation; however, this does not mean that the degree of change would be necessarily fundamental or sustained. The following analysis is intended to explore these features in more detail as they relate to TVEI.

(1) Rate of change.

From the point of view of the LEAs concerned, the rate of change occurring in TVEI was very great. The scheme was announced in 1982; in September 1983 it started in 14 LEAs, and by 1985 74 LEAs had become involved. Every LEA in the Country has now joined the Initiative. In some cases, the rate of change generated was initially so great that LEAs had to develop contingency plans for dealing with the rapid

Figure 3.2.

DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE

Crude Indicators

RATE:	Rapid Slow
SCALE:	Large Small
DEGREE:	Fundamental . . . Superficial
CONTINUITY:	Revolutionary . . Evolutionary
DIRECTION:	Linear. Cyclical
UNIT:	Individual. . . . Collective
PLANNING:	Low High
DIFFUSION:	High Low
PRESSURE:	Large Small
CONTROL:	Central.... District.... Local

innovation involved, particularly in relation to the ways that it affected the management of resources and of institutions.

The views emanating from some LEAs indicated that the rate of change was in fact too great and was causing them many problems. However, those LEAs that entered the Initiative did seem to succeed in getting their schemes started, and were often successful in bringing about changes as anticipated. This position needs to be set against an MSC view on the management of innovation, that rapid change was necessary to prevent procrastination by LEAs in setting up their planning mechanisms.

In theory, the rate of change was also great for the institutions involved, because TVEI was a scheme in which they were required to meet the criteria laid down by the MSC within 5 years. In practice, the rate of change in many institutions was not necessarily that great, since it was dependent upon the response shown towards TVEI by that institution, eg in many cases the attitudes of staff in institutions affected the actual rate of adoption. The variety of approaches used within these institutions will be referred to throughout this Chapter, because it will be argued that TVEI often had a more direct impact on the LEAs involved, than on their institutions, which were, to a large extent, distanced from the MSC as a result of the contractual obligation for TVEI lying with the LEAs. It is interesting to note that some LEAs (eg Warwickshire) decided within the Extension phase of TVEI to draw up contracts themselves with their institutions, in order to replicate the obligation placed upon them by the MSC. The notion

that LEAs present a buffer between central innovation and the institutions introducing the changes is reflected in the more recent attempts by Government to reduce the executive roles of LEAs enabling the DES to deal more directly with schools and colleges.

(ii) Scale of Change.

Hull et al (1973) define the scale of change as the magnitude of the involvement of individuals, groups and organisations in the innovation, eg a single teacher, a department, a school staff, a whole LEA. There can be no doubt that the scale of change within TVEI has been very large, for it has affected every LEA in England and Wales over the past 8 years. It can also be argued, however, that while the scale of change has been very large at an LEA level, this is not yet the case for all the institutions, since only some 5 or 6 institutions in each LEA were originally involved, and only some 50-60 pupils per year in each of these institutions. TVEI has still only affected a small percentage of schools nationally, and a very small number of pupils. However, as TVEI Extension becomes available to all pupils, the scale of change will grow.

(iii) Degree of Change.

The concept of 'degree of change', as used by Bernstein (1971), refers to whether the nature of the change is superficial or fundamental. It is possible to perceive a difference in this sense, between the intentions of the MSC for TVEI and the reality of innovation at the institutional level. There can be little doubt that TVEI was seen by

many as a way of fundamentally altering some of the practice then current in British schools and colleges, by introducing:

- greater curriculum relevance for students,
- a flexibility of approach to teaching and learning,
- industrial and economic awareness for students and staff,
- problem solving opportunities for students,
- active and experiential learning approaches,
- a more uniform gender balance in all curriculum areas.

(TVEI: Guidelines, MSC 1982b)

In reality, although some of these issues probably did receive more attention in institutions as a result of TVEI, a number of the themes were, in fact, ones which had already been well discussed, even if they were not already common place. Active and experiential Learning, for instance, can be traced back to the Newsom Report of 1963. The themes also received considerable attention in a number of FEU publications in the late 1970s (eg FEU/SCDC 1979), culminating in the development of some of the ideas for Active Tutorial Work issuing from Lancaster University (Baldwin and Wells 1980-83). This strand also became interwoven with more flexible classroom practices and with an increasing use of investigative and problem-solving approaches (Trayers 1989). Similar arguments can be made about aspects of industrial and economic awareness, which were being increasingly delivered through work experience, exchange visits and enterprise activities (for instance the Young Enterprise scheme), and which were intended to provide more relevant opportunities for young people (Hodge 1987a).

A paradox within TVEI, however, was that there was a degree of inherent ambiguity in the criteria laid down for the scheme. On the one hand, they seemed to be encouraging initiative, flexibility of approach and problem-solving skills in pupils. On the other hand, they were intended for preparing young people for jobs in industry and commerce which could actually be anticipated as requiring very different skills and aptitudes. It was frustrating for pupils to find that a need to demonstrate the various skills propounded by TVEI was often not required for the jobs which they entered. Indeed one of the observations made of pupils on work experience (Hodge 1987a) was that they were frequently disillusioned by the low expectations placed upon them by employers.

Because these earlier developments predated much of what was happening in TVEI, the changes taking place in the institutions were often fairly superficial, since little real invention had taken place. It was the further development and dissemination of some of these earlier ideas, and the provision of the resources for them to be tried out which were of more fundamental importance than the novelty of many of the innovations themselves.

In addition, within some institutions, a number of the changes that were taking place did not appear likely to be maintained once the Initiative ended. The problem for the real adoption of change in institutions, which this represents, will be considered later in this Chapter. However, it is perhaps a truism that those aims of TVEI which were consonant with the existing aims of the institutions involved were

more likely to become permanent than where the acceptance of change was only at a superficial level and resulted merely from the intention to use the funding available, or from pressures for involvement emanating from the LEA. In this sense, TVEI assisted individual schools to meet their own aims, rather than meeting the aims of the LEA, unless these two were compatible. Where they were not compatible, the aims of the school tended to predominate.

(iv) Continuity of Change.

The concept of continuity of change, as defined by Hoyle (1976), refers to whether the intention was to bring about a revolution in the educational structure, or whether it was more concerned with an evolution from that which existed already. It has been argued earlier that TVEI could be seen as emanating from a combination of factors, including: opinions about the lack of relevance of education in the 1970's, and a concern about Britain's poor economic performance. It is not easy to determine whether the intention was to use TVEI to bring about a revolution in the educational system, but as a consequence of these factors, the intention may well have been revolutionary as far as the nature of educational practice in schools in England and Wales was concerned. However, since many of the ideas inherent in TVEI pre-dated the features which were contained in the Initiative, the overall result was for TVEI to be evolutionary, at least as far as many professionals were concerned. McCabe (1986) has commented that TVEI was enabling many schools to move along paths which they had already started, or had wanted to follow. For instance:

- work experience, education/industry links and pre-vocational education were already in existence, even if only on a small scale,
- many of the recommendations made in the Newsom Report (1963), relating to the education of pupils of average and below ability, and in a Basis for Choice (FEU 1979), which referred to opportunities for students post-16, had also already begun to be implemented in some LEAs and by individual institutions.

In essence, therefore, TVEI was an evolutionary movement, building on those ideas which existed already, but which had not received sufficient support to take them further, and which previously had made little impact. Fiddy and Stronach (1987) consider that TVEI became a dissemination project for the innovations of the past, and Holt (1987) argues that TVEI was able to build on others ideas. None-the-less, despite this evolutionary strand to TVEI, for some LEAs and institutions, there can be little doubt that the Initiative did have a revolutionary impact upon existing educational structures: in terms of management, pedagogy, and their responses to innovation. These will be examined further in Chapters 6 and 7.

(v) Direction of Change.

This aspect of change, as considered by Hoyle, is related to the intentions of the initiator with regard to sustaining the change that was being brought about. TVEI began as a five year pilot scheme for a limited number of LEAs and institutions, but almost as soon as it had

started, it was decided by the Government that the opportunity should be extended to more LEAs. After a further two years it was announced that it would be extended to all LEAs, and to all institutions for another five year period after the pilot phase had ended at a cost at that time of £900 million. There can be little doubt, therefore, about the intention of the MSC to create sustained change in line with the criteria of TVEI. The strategies used to implement the Initiative were designed with this in mind.

It could also be argued, that the financial input made by the MSC into TVEI was too great to allow the money to be frittered away on a limited change programme. It was apparent that the MSC were concerned about the capability of LEAs and institutions to maintain the aims of TVEI when the funding ended. Much of their effort became directed, therefore, towards attempting to institutionalise the changes rather than allowing them to remain as additional features which were likely to disappear at the same time as the funding. The nature of the institutionalisation process will be considered later in this Chapter.

Bolam (1975) has referred to the importance of the adaptability of change. He argues that whilst developers deplore having their innovations altered, the degree of adaptability is an important feature for User systems. When TVEI began, although there was little obvious intent on the part of the MSC to allow the criteria for the scheme to be altered, there was a willingness to support a variety of implementation styles. Although the MSC appeared to have an understanding of where the scheme was intended to be heading, they had

some uncertainty as to how to get there. Gradually, however, schemes did generate greater adaptability, and innovations were moulded more to the needs of the users.

(vi) Unit of Change.

One of the main criteria of TVEI, was that developments should be based on collaborative ventures. This was one of the clear messages that was constantly given to LEAs by the MSC during the lifetime of TVEI. The MSC undoubtedly valued the outcomes of shared development for:

- the support that this gave to the participants,
- the opportunities that arose for dissemination of the outcomes,
- the cost-effectiveness which the sharing could achieve.

It is now apparent that the failure of some TVEI Extension submissions was due to a lack of actual and/or planned collaborative development within the LEA concerned. The collaborating units envisaged by the MSC at the LEA level involved both schools and colleges, so that development could take place across the whole 14-18 continuum rather than merely being divided pre-16 and post-16.

Collaboration was seen by the MSC as a mechanism for managing change. The failure of an innovation to become adopted at the individual institutional level could be attributed to insufficient people sharing a similar goal. Collaboration would allow people to come together from different backgrounds to pool ideas and expertise. This could produce a shared ownership of development that might boost the innovation further.

Collaborative development was not only encouraged between institutions, but also between LEAs. TVEI Regional Advisers were instrumental, particularly during the pilot phase, in encouraging meetings between TVEI projects both in their own regions and at national level. These meetings were opportunities for major themes such as equal opportunities to be considered. The collaboration between LEAs suggested that the MSC saw TVEI as a national change strategy in which they were the change agents for all the LEAs concerned. However, there is little evidence to suggest that the MSC was actually looking for a national structure for TVEI. Instead the individuality of LEA schemes was encouraged, provided that they remained within the broad framework which had been laid down previously.

(vii) The planning of change

Although TVEI was introduced extremely quickly, there can be little question of it being an ad hoc venture. The requirements placed on LEAs by the MSC did indeed suggest a very high degree of planning, even though this was undertaken very quickly and with little real consultation. For instance:

- (i) the requirement for LEAs to produce their own submissions for their own local projects, which were then carefully vetted by the TVEI Unit against the criteria laid down nationally,
- (ii) the contractual management obligations on LEAs to appoint co-ordinators with responsibility for the delivery of their scheme,
- (iii) the requirements for monitoring and evaluation of all the processes that were occurring.

Young (1986) has commented that at first glance TVEI suggested an absence of a systematic approach, and appeared to be an unplanned process of interaction, dialogue, feedback modifying objectives, a recycling of plans, micropolitics, and a coping with mixed feelings. Looking beyond the necessarily messy side of managing change, however, there was considerable evidence of an objective, rational and systematic approach to TVEI.

In some ways, LEAs saw the MSC as a very bureaucratic organisation. For instance, there was a great deal of form filling to be done, budgets had to be carefully planned and executed, and statistics were required on a whole range of matters. In addition, in the early days of TVEI, the MSC seemed to be very much in control of what was going on. However, as TVEI schemes unfolded this control appeared to decrease. In part, this was due to the way in which the MSC saw advantages in allowing LEAs to manage their own affairs more. It also has to be recognised that, because TVEI became such a large initiative, the MSC had insufficient manpower available to maintain the same degree of centralised control over a primarily local development project. The issues relating to centre/periphery change, as exemplified by TVEI, are taken up at length in Chapter 9.

Three other dimensions of change, which need to be added to those already described in the literature, are:

(viii) Diffusion of change.

One of the biggest problems, when considering TVEI as a mechanism for producing innovation, was that the changes which were produced by the Initiative, were diffuse and not necessarily inter-related. It was clear, for instance, that while in some institutions there might not have been a great deal of development in terms of (say) curriculum structures, movement might have been taking place in other areas (eg in pedagogy, in staff attitudes to change, or to the evaluation of the existing structures), which might not have been so apparent. Sikes and Taylor (1987) have argued that, when considering the effects produced by TVEI, it is essential carefully to define the dimensions of change involved. Evaluation, for instance, might have indicated that nothing appeared to be happening in certain areas of a scheme, whereas, in reality, considerable movement might have already occurred in other aspects of the work of the institution. Sims (1989) has shown in an NFER study of TVEI, that there were unintended consequences of innovation that may have been as important as the planned change. The three projects being studied in this thesis support this viewpoint (Chapter 8).

(ix) Pressure for change.

TVEI was not an initiative that was immediately attractive to all LEAs. The TVEI criteria were ones that many people were cautious about, if not openly opposed to. This was a result of both the nature of the Initiative and the way in which it had been introduced. This has been reflected in the literature on TVEI (see for instance Bailey 1988, Baker 1985, Bolton 1985, Education 1983, Gorbitt 1984, Holt 1983, Leach

1986, Seckington 1985). There was, however, a considerable pressure upon LEAs to join the scheme. This came initially from the considerable funding available. This was attractive to financially hard-pressed Authorities. After some time, those LEAs that had not joined the scheme felt both financially and developmentally disadvantaged in comparison with those that had. By 1990 every LEA in England and Wales had become involved with TVEI, although the actual uptake, in this short time scale, was based, to a considerable extent, upon the financial inducement. While some LEAs saw the criteria as helpful to their individual needs, and others saw themselves pioneering new ground within pre-vocational education and training, these were in a minority. If one considers that nearly half the LEAs in England and Wales applied to join TVEI within six months of it being launched in 1982, and that they had little clear information available to them about the Initiative, other than the financial rewards and some rather crude criteria, then the educational incentives to join appear to have been less important than the financial ones.

(x) Control of Change.

It has already been argued that TVEI was a centralised initiative, with the control being held (at least initially) by the MSC. There was little doubt that when TVEI began, the intension was to maintain careful control over the developments taking place and to ensure that, as far as possible, projects produced the outcomes that they had promised. The control over changes taking place was maintained through the contracts that had been drawn up between the MSC and the LEAs, which reflected both the criteria laid down for TVEI and the

submissions produced by individual LEAs. The MSC attempted to secure information about developments within LEAs through a number of channels, including Regional Advisers, Annual Reviews and a range of evaluation strategies. While the MSC attempted to maintain its control over the LEAs, they in turn were expected to control the developments taking place within their institutions. However, the way in which this was achieved differed markedly between LEAs. Indeed it is one of the major themes of this thesis that the ways in which changes were brought about in different TVEI projects depended upon: the relationships between institutions and their LEAs; the management structures which existed; and the historically based links that had been forged. The result of this situation was that the degree of control by the MSC over the changes taking place at the periphery was extremely variable, and depended on the particular LEA concerned. It will be argued in Chapter 9 that the model of centre/periphery change, set up by the MSC, was not universally successful, and as a result there was something of a shift of control towards the LEAs and their institutions as the Initiative developed.

Change and TVEI in summary.

An assessment of the dimensions of change which relate to TVEI is a complex task. The Initiative was, for the education system, a new approach to managing change. It was also being implemented rapidly and on a national scale. It was centrally controlled and placed considerable pressures on individual LEAs and institutions to join, particularly through financial incentives. TVEI itself could be identified as a mechanism for producing very rapid educational change,

but in many respects the changes in themselves were not fundamental ones, since the Initiative allowed an already existing evolutionary process to accelerate. The changes have, however, affected the vast majority of schools and colleges in this Country to some extent and represent a high degree of planned linear development supported by considerable funding, careful monitoring and evaluation, and collaborative support. Although individual LEAs were encouraged to develop their own schemes in their own ways, the contractual obligation to a nationally planned framework has meant that, in practice, considerable similarity of development has actually taken place across different Authorities. Within the institutions themselves, however, the dimensions of change were far more variable. For some, the changes were quite fundamental and rapid, while for others, the changes were only introduced slowly or not at all. In many institutions the changes were so diffuse that it was difficult to decide whether they were the result of TVEI or some other initiative. TVEI was perhaps initially most successful where it was perceived as an attempt to develop the curriculum in a positive way.

If Bolam's (1975) framework for interpreting change, is used to analyse TVEI as a change strategy, it demonstrates that the same general features existed, ie User systems, Change agents, Innovations and a Time dimension. However, the ways in which these operated and interacted were different from previous innovations. When TVEI started, the User system was generally based upon small consortia of institutions; when Extension was phased in, this changed to all the institutions in an LEA. Although the change agents operating in TVEI

will be shown later to have used largely the same strategies as their predecessors, there were a number of new categories of agents introduced by TVEI who differed as a result of the power that was vested in them by the MSC. Bolam (1975) has shown that the key factor relating to the success of change agents is their authority relationship with the User system; in TVEI this authority was vested in the power of the contract and the influence of the funding.

The nature of these changes may have been evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The scale of the innovation, however, was considerable compared with projects in the past. Large numbers of ideas were given support simultaneously, and the diversity of innovation was great not only across an LEA but also within the individual institutions. The importance of the time dimension was that the MSC itself imposed limits on developments; consequently innovation often had to occur far more rapidly than many of the User systems would have wished. Little attention seemed to be paid to the 'Antecedent stage', or even to the 'Interactive stage'; the prime intention for the MSC seemed to be to produce results, and hence it was the 'Consequent stage' that was given most attention. In these ways, therefore, the change processes occurring in TVEI were fundamentally different from previous innovations.

3.4 TVEI AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT: Producing a conceptual framework.

TVEI can be interpreted as a curriculum development project aimed at: enhancing the relevance of the school curriculum to the world of work; increasing access for pupils to more up-to-date technology and

equipment; and encouraging them to participate more in courses that would lead to technician level work. Braithwaite et al (1985) have produced a useful review of curriculum development programmes in which they identify the 'Curriculum Reform Movement' which, they argue, has existed in Britain since the 1960's. This has a number of features:

- (i) a willingness to respond to social, cultural, industrial and technological change,
- (ii) an exploration of new 'maps of knowledge'.
- (iii) a development of possible cross-disciplinary approaches,
- (iv) reform led by pedagogical principles.

However, despite the existence of these characteristics, they argue that the movement has been concerned more with institutionalising the process of change and renewal than with introducing new curriculum content. They consider that three main strategies have been used to bring the institutionalisation about.

(1) 'First Generation' Curriculum projects.

These were usually medium size projects which focussed on narrow facets of the whole curriculum (eg The Schools Council Humanities Project). They tended to be materials-based and often with a commitment to 'enquiry' (eg The Nuffield Chemistry Project). They were highly funded, with the money mainly being used for the production of physical resources (eg teaching and learning materials, equipment). The projects were developed at a national level by teams of practitioners who produced the course materials.

In some cases the projects received support from the Examination Boards. However, subsequent take-up and impact of these projects demonstrated a mixed and often disappointing position. This often resulted from the materials being regarded as 'off the shelf' packages for use without any further amendment. The projects generally paid too little attention to the in-service needs of teachers and did not attempt to create development networks.

(11) School-based curriculum development.

These were small scale developments aimed at local adaptability. Many of them arose as a direct response to the raising of the school leaving age in 1973, and the need to identify an alternative curriculum for some pupils. The developments were encouraged by the Examination Boards, and were accredited by them as 'Mode 3' schemes. They were produced by individual teachers or school departments and usually operated without any additional funding being made available. There were less chances taken over the risks involved in this sort of development, and hence they were more modest in intention as well as outcome.

(111) Large-scale centralised curriculum initiatives.

These developed alongside the school-based developments as Government-backed, investment-led, initiatives, often called 'programmes'. They were a response by Government Departments to a perceived need to affect the school curriculum in relation to areas of national importance. Thus they tended to be targeted at particular curriculum areas; for instance the Micro-Electronics

Programme (MEP) was in this league. The development of centralised initiatives reflected an increasing tendency for Government to become involved in the school curriculum, and was a precursor to the schools being used as a battleground for political control of education.

Braithwaite et al (1985) argued that TVEI fits in with the third category since it is a centralised initiative which was based on the assumption that, given an educational system which is slow to change, the correct strategy is to develop resource-led innovation. They have argued that TVEI is similar to the 'cargo-cult' mentality, since the recipients tend to embrace the values of those offering the gifts. However, they anticipated later difficulties with this sort of approach when the 'cargo providers' no longer return, and the acceptance at the periphery gradually withers away.

A crucial issue for those involved in curriculum development is that it is teachers who will have to implement the changes. Unless this group is closely involved in the developments taking place, there is likely to be little permanent adoption of the change. The argument put forward by Braithwaite et al (1985) is that TVEI was in danger of encouraging developments to take place only while the inducement to change (ie the funding in this case) was available. However, if there is to be teacher ownership of the Initiative, the process can become tediously slow, leading in effect to little real change. If in addition, curriculum development is related to teachers' perceptions of their own pupils' needs, then changes are also in danger of becoming

localised rather than more universal. Although TVEI did start out with a clear intention to enforce curriculum change in accordance with specific criteria, it became apparent that this could not operate without the acceptance and co-operation of teachers. As a result, there was an acknowledgement of the need for support for curriculum development to be provided through co-ordinators, advisory teachers and curriculum development groups. However, one of the clear features to emerge in this process was that the MSC was not willing to accept any form of procrastination and set definite time limits.

Another widely accepted typology of curriculum development strategies is that produced by Havelock (1975). His three models of change are:

- (i) The Research, Development and Dissemination (RD&D) model,
- (ii) The Social Interaction model, and
- (iii) The Problem Solving model.

The RD&D model is based upon the notion that change takes place through a rational sequence of events. The model requires planning on a massive scale, so that all aspects of the innovation process are well covered and well understood by everyone involved. Particular attention is paid to the development and dissemination stages. The model emphasises the need for a division of labour among those involved, so that the various aspects of the innovation can be adequately dealt with. However, the need for co-operation between individuals is seen as essential. The model relies on a new idea being developed by a central team, with the product then being passed to the consumer for acceptance. Although it is assumed that the consumers are rational,

and will identify the need for the change, they are also seen as passive, being willing to accept the new idea without much resistance. While the RD&D approach is high on initial cost, this is in the interest of the long term benefits of efficiency and quality within the innovation. The particular strengths of the RD&D model are: (i) the emphasis placed on planning the change process, (ii) the intention to produce a quality product. The major weakness is that the product might not be accepted by the consumer, since this person: (i) might not want the change, (ii) might not understand it, (iii) might not find out about it.

The Social Interaction model relies upon the adopters of the change belonging to a network of social relationships (eg the Heads of Department from the schools in an LEA). Group membership is a major factor in the individual adoption of the change, and the place that individuals have in the network is a good predictor of the rate of acceptance of the change. The model acknowledges that informal personal contact plays a vital part in the adoption of change by individuals, since they require opportunities to discuss their own ideas and concerns. Although, in this model, diffusion of the change through the system begins rapidly, it then slows down, since those who have not been directly involved in the planning become more difficult to contact or convince. The strengths of the Social Interaction model are: (i) the group identity that it encourages, (ii) the opportunities it provides for the exchange of ideas among people with similar interests. The weaknesses are: (i) the group might not share the same concerns, (ii) the planning process might be ineffective, (iii) it

might be difficult to spread the change beyond the immediate participants, (iv) the process of identifying a solution to a particular problem may be too insular without some outside intervention.

The Problem-solving model is based on the assumption that need is the starting point for any change. When this need has been identified it can be translated into a problem which is then diagnosed. This diagnosis will lead to a search for solutions, which can be assisted by the involvement of an outside person in a non-directive consultancy role. The innovation needs to be tested and if necessary adapted. The strengths of the Problem-solving model are: (i) it is concerned with the identification of actual needs, (ii) it acknowledges the benefit of outside support, (iii) it recognises the importance of evaluating the change. The weaknesses are: (i) the process might be inadequately planned, (ii) the change might be limited in its scope, (iii) the change might be poorly disseminated, (iv) the model does not necessarily involve a sufficiently large group of individuals who will encourage the change process to occur.

In addition to these three models, Havelock has also identified the Linkage Process which combines elements of all three models. For instance, a linking agency could be seen as operating between an RD&D system and the personnel in a problem-solving school, arousing interest, linking agencies of development and collaborating in activities. Bolam (1975) and Hoyle (1970) have related this linkage

process to the change agency occurring between the Innovation system and the User system.

In terms of the classification which has been produced by Braithwaite et al (1985), their First Generation curriculum model has obvious similarities with the RD & D model proposed by Havelock, and their school-based model complements Havelock's Problem-solving School model. It is interesting to note, however, that their other models do not have any obvious coherence with Havelock's structures. In part this reflects the fact that the large-scale, centralised curriculum initiative has been a feature of more recent years, and did not have a real counterpart when Havelock produced his particular classification in the 1970s. The large-scale, centralised initiative is an aspect of development in the 1980's, and reflects a shift in the attitude of Central Government to curriculum change. Whereas this was once seen as the 'Secret Garden' of the professional educators, the 1980's has given rise to a climate in which entry to this 'Secret Garden' has become possible as well as permissible. Centralised curriculum models have been used to gain entry. As a result of this change in Government policy and practice, Harland (1987) has argued that although the Havelock models of change have stood the test of frequent usage, they now seem inadequate as an explanation of the change processes occurring within TVEI. However, the strategies used by TVEI projects to achieve teacher involvement had clear associations with both the Social Interaction and Problem-solving models proposed by Havelock. Indeed it was quite common to find elements of both models operating in the same LEA at the same time. The clear distinction, as far as TVEI was

concerned, seemed to be that curriculum development took place against a background of specific criteria and time-scales, which had a definite effect on the outcomes.

Dale (1985) has taken this argument further by indicating that TVEI did not follow any of three traditional patterns of curriculum change that have typified the change process in England and Wales. These patterns are:

(1) 'The Schools Council model'.

In this case the programme is drawn up in consultation with practising educators. The approach reflects the professional viewpoint, and concentrates on issues which are outside the immediate remit of the lay person. In particular, it is aimed at improving the content and/or delivery of the curriculum. An example is the introduction of the Muffield Science schemes.

(11) 'The Plowden Advisory model'.

In this case representatives of appropriate interests join together to recommend a series of more or less major changes. The model brings professional educators into contact with those people who have a vested interest in the outcomes of the educational process. Changes to the context in which schooling takes place are considered. The development of education-industry co-operation is an example of this approach.

(iii) 'The legislative change model'.

In this case policy makers agree legislation concerning the structure of the educational process. Changes are introduced which affect the way in which the practitioners are able to operate. This approach introduced comprehensive schooling and other major initiatives.

Dale considers TVEI to have followed a business or commercial model, which is characterised by:

- (i) the capability to move resources into a new line when the existing ones become ineffective,
- (ii) an intention to improve the service to a particular group of customers,
- (iii) being executive rather than legislative or advisory,
- (iv) being unencumbered by professional experts.

However, while this model might have been effective in explaining TVEI during its early days, there was every indication that, because the MSC found the involvement of teachers essential to effective curriculum development, their expertise was gradually enlisted, and TVEI, at least at the periphery, took on features of the 'Schools Council Model'.

The problems of relating TVEI to any established system of curriculum change have caused Harland (1987) to identify an entirely new model, in which she argues there are three possible practitioner modes:

(1) AUTONOMY MODE.

In which the practitioner is able to exert independent judgements about a particular situation, and to either accept solutions, or to seek solutions, or do neither.

(11) CO-OPERATION MODE.

In which the practitioner enters into a partnership in which there is co-operation on the basis of equality plus the freedom to withdraw from involvement.

(111) RECRUITMENT MODE.

In which the practitioner is a licensed agent, who is able to operate within the scope allowed by his principal (ie the contract in the case of TVEI).

The first two modes fit with Havelock's definitions of change, and also satisfy the modes of operation of the 'Schools Council approach' discussed by Dale, but not with TVEI, which Harland (1987) argues, was centralised with a coercive approach to the introduction of change. She sees the Recruitment model as being the one nearest to that operated by the MSC, and the one that fitted in with the change agency roles operating within TVEI (Chapter 4). She argues that the signing of the TVEI contract effectively provided LEAs with a licence to operate on behalf of the MSC; the licensee was then expected to produce curriculum changes within its locality in accord with the criteria laid down. Failure to achieve this could lead to the contract not being renewed. The licence also enabled LEAs to produce a contract with

their schools and colleges, so that they in turn became licensed to develop the TVEI criteria themselves. The problem again with this model, is that it only takes into account some of the early interpretations of TVEI and ignores many of the later developments in which the partnerships between LEAs, and between LEAs and the MSC, were effectively increased. It also ignores the way in which LEAs themselves operated curriculum development, for in many cases the models they used were much more in line with the 'co-operation mode' proposed by Harland. In some cases, the relationship between LEAs and their schools was such that the 'autonomy mode' operated; this was observed, for instance, in one of the three LEAs being studied in this research (Chapter 6).

The particular problem with the Recruitment model is that it refers to a particular scheme at a particular point in time, and it may not have more universal applicability. Harland (1987) has recognised that there are problems with the model. For TVEI, the difficulties seem to encompass the following issues:

- (1) TVEI occurred at a time of depression, both in the economy and in the resourcing of schools; practitioners might not have been so willing to accept other people's directions in more favourable times. Indeed there was some evidence of this as TVEI schemes developed through the 1980's, when practitioners attempted to impose their own interpretations on the changes taking place.

(ii) After initial opposition, TVEI gained the acceptance of many practitioners. It is not so certain that licenced agents would be able to operate in the case of initiatives which they did not approve of. The incentives for change (such as finance) are, however, critical determinants in this.

(iii) Compared with many other developments, TVEI has had a considerable length of life. Problems could occur if policy changes led to contractual agreements being frequently altered.

The intention of the MSC to encourage curriculum development, as an outcome of TVEI, necessitated the creation of management strategies for bringing this about. The fact that TVEI was a centrally managed initiative meant that consideration had to be given to how the TVEI Unit would interact with the LEAs and their institutions, and what roles each tier would need to have.

3.5 THE INNOVATION PROCESS.

Change is a process which will generate opposition as well as support. This has to be taken into account by those managing the change. Hoyle (1976) argued that, from a review of the innovations taking place in recent years, it is possible to identify a trend towards the adoption of strategies which he refers to as 'Planned Change'. The main element of a 'Planned Change' strategy is that the innovation is interventionist and hence involves change agents working directly with the User system. Hoyle considers that the RD&D model of curriculum

development was a strategy for planned change, but that it had limitations in encouraging innovations to become institutionalised. Rogers (1962) argues that much of the curriculum development of the past occurred through a 'diffusion' process in which ideas were simply allowed to flow from their source to the user, without any other intervention taking place, ie it was a neutral process. He considers that, because this often resulted in poor uptake of new ideas, proper 'dissemination' systems needed to be adopted in which the pattern of diffusion was made deliberate and received the support of an intermediary. Guba and Clark (1965) distinguish between 'adoption' of change and 'institutionalisation'; the former they refer to as the mere acceptance of the change into an institution without it necessarily having any real endurance, whereas institutionalisation occurs when the innovation becomes an integral part of the school's functioning and exists in the school over a period of time. Hoyle (1976) argues that planned organisational change is necessary for innovations to become institutionalised; ie the strategy used by the change agent needs not only to consider the dissemination of the change but also how it might eventually become adopted into the institution. He argues that there are a number of obstacles to the use of planned organisational change:

- (i) teachers and headteachers in England and Wales generally have a high degree of autonomy and it is difficult, therefore, to get changes accepted by them,
- (ii) change agents with an ability to alter attitudes among the User system are not commonly available,

- (iii) an institution needs to demonstrate a commitment to planned change if it is to succeed.

Whilst TVEI largely overcame the first of these obstacles, through its categorical funding strategy, the other two obstacles were more difficult to remove.

Bolam (1975) has considered that the User system might respond in a variety of ways during the 'Interactive' and 'Consequent' stages described earlier in this Chapter; it might:

- (i) Reject the innovation. Eichholz and Rogers (1964) have investigated this possibility and have found a number of reasons for it occurring, including a lack of consonance with the organisational aims. They argue, however, that the rejection of change should not be seen as a totally negative outcome, for it could be a way for the organisation to maintain its effectiveness.
- (ii) Resist the innovation; ie try to prevent it from taking hold. This will be considered later in this section.
- (iii) Adapt the innovation; ie modify the innovation so that it fits better with the organisation's methods of working. Macdonald and Ruddock (1971) consider that the potential adaptability of an innovation is an attractive feature for users.

(iv) Institutionalise the innovation.

Within TVEI, however, there was also another way in which institutions reacted to the Initiative. Because schools were being pressurised into accepting change, they sometimes went along with the change while they were being 'forced' to, but later strongly resisted any attempt to institutionalise the change. Examples of this are the incorporation of work experience into the curriculum, and the introduction of balanced science as an entitlement for all pupils for 20% of curriculum time. This response is similar to the 'Facade Phenomenon' identified by Smith and Keith (1971), in which practitioners colluded to present an image which suggested that the innovation was working when they knew that it was not.

Guskin (1969) believes that individuals will react differently to innovations, and that their reaction will depend upon certain enduring characteristics. Although he sees open-mindedness and the use of incentives as important features in encouraging an adoption of change, the most critical factor appears to be the extent to which the enduring personality characteristics of the individuals are affected by the innovation. If individuals are highly aroused by an innovation, and there is a congruence between their personalities and the innovation then it will be accepted, if not it will be rejected. This concept appears particularly important in the context of TVEI, because it was a contentious initiative which did arouse individuals to respond when they were confronted by it. In fact, it could be argued that congruence between many teachers and TVEI was only generated when the

Initiative had become more generally acceptable to the teaching profession as a whole.

As well as the need for congruence between the aims of the Initiative and the individuals involved, the responses made by whole organisations to TVEI appear equally important. Nisbet (1973) considered the concept of the 'Creativity' of a school. He argued that a 'creative' institution is one that is capable of adopting, adapting, generating and/or rejecting innovations. Apart from the need for the 'creative' school to have operationalised key internal variables, such as leadership, staff morale, good communications and shared values, his research also pointed to the need for the external or contextual variables to be congruent with those of the 'creative' school. These included the views of parents and the local community, the views of local politicians and the structure of the examination system. Nisbet also pointed to the need for external support to assist innovation within the 'creative' school, such as the help of the local advisory service and appropriate INSET. In the context of TVEI, considerable INSET was made available both through TVEI and TRIST. Although the scheme did provide considerable advisory support, this was through TVEI central teams rather than through LEA advisers. It was also apparent that there was often little congruence between TVEI developments and the regulations of Examination Boards, and it was quite common to find that new initiatives were rejected by the Boards. TVEI did not always have the full support, either, of local politicians and community groups, whilst parents were often unaware of many of the implications of TVEI (Harris 1987).

In the case of TVEI, therefore, there were both promoters of, and barriers to, the innovations taking place which tended to affect the change process itself.

Barriers to the introduction of TVEI,

Two important elements of the change process are Resistance and Subversion (Dalín 1974).

RESISTANCE to change is a normal process and has been found to occur in TVEI among those who had:

(i) An ideological opposition to the introduction of TVEI,

There were a large number of people who were opposed to TVEI because they were concerned that the Initiative was extolling an ideology to which they were fundamentally opposed. There were, for instance, those who saw TVEI as a means for the Government to gain greater social control over the population of this Country, and a means of increasing the social division between groups. They were opposed to the introduction of TVEI on these grounds in particular (Baker 1985).

(ii) A professional opposition to the aims of TVEI,

Many educationalists and professional teachers saw TVEI as being opposed to the concept of a liberal education, and pursuing a path which could lead to a narrow vocationalism.

'Uncertainties about the implications of educational innovation for professional identity, status and autonomy may adversely affect the motivation to change'.

(Sims 1989 page 2)

Although this viewpoint tended to lessen as the pilot developed, it was only as a result of professionals gaining increasing ownership over the change that opposition was seen to diminish.

(iii) A concern that they might be disadvantaged by the effects of TVEI,

Since TVEI seemed to be directed towards certain specific developments in the curriculum, some teachers considered that they would be disadvantaged, either because their particular area of the curriculum would not get its fair share of resources, or because TVEI was a possible threat to the continued existence of their subject. TVEI began life with a largely technological focus, and initially resources were directed mainly towards this end.

(iv) A belief that they had not been prepared for the introduction of TVEI.

TVEI represented a new set of criteria, some of which were aimed at introducing new styles of teaching and learning. The developments which took place were largely through such vehicles as: the modular curriculum, Active Learning, and Supported Self-study. A number of these developments were new to many teachers and represented threats to their professional competence. As a result, a number felt unprepared and anxious about a process which was being forced upon them.

As a result of resistance to the introduction of TVEI, practitioners sometimes sought ways of avoiding the Initiative and subverting it.

SUBVERSION of change is a process which attempts to undermine the adoption of a change into the organisation. It can occur through individuals utilising a range of factors, including:

(i) A stated lack of time.

Time for developments to occur is essential, and if this is lacking it prevents teachers meeting, preparing and consolidating the changes that they are involved with. In addition new developments are sometimes perceived as taking more time than they actually do, since individuals are placed in stressful situations. Innovators need to ensure that ample time is available to prevent accusations of 'lack of time' being made. This did not always happen with TVEI. Although, compared to other initiatives such as the Nuffield Science schemes, there was a greater opportunity for teachers to spend time away from their classrooms planning future developments, this feature tended to alienate those teachers not involved with TVEI, who felt that they were not able to benefit from the same advantages which were available to their colleagues.

(ii) A perceived lack of resources.

A lack of facilities, ancillary staff and materials, can be both frustrating and damaging to developments taking place. TVEI largely overcame this through the provision of considerable resources to institutions, including unusually high levels of ancillary support.

However, this feature again tended to alienate those not involved, and was seen to be working to the advantage of a small privileged group of teachers.

(iii) A lack of support.

Assistance from others in terms of management, motivation and training is essential to the successful promotion of developments; without these features, innovation can be stifled. TVEI attempted to provide this support through:

- the appointment of a school co-ordinator (often as a member of the school's senior management team),
- LEA curriculum development groups,
- enhanced INSET opportunities.

(iv) A lack of coherence with other developments.

TVEI had been introduced at a time when considerable change was taking place in the educational world, and there was no guarantee that the various changes were necessarily coherent. Examination structures appeared to be one of the biggest factors hindering curriculum change, and Evans and Davies (1987) have blamed the awesome power of the examination system for preventing innovation.

(v) A lack of coherence with the social context.

Evans and Davies (1987) have argued that, while TVEI has brought about changes in the content, and in some cases the organisation of the curriculum, it has largely left untouched the social context of schooling into which the Initiative was introduced. The same

authors have argued that the social context is, to a large extent, governed by the structure of selection and differentiation within the educational system, within the labour market, and within society as a whole. In some schools, TVEI could be seen as increasing the degree of selection, since it was often targeted at a particular group of pupils. TVEI was associated in the minds of many teachers with a course for less able and less motivated pupils, and it was sometimes perceived as a form of selection within the curriculum that went against many of the principles advocated by those in favour of fully comprehensive education.

In addition to the possibility of subversive approaches removing the change from the institution entirely, an alternative strategy was for the change to be modified in ways that made it acceptable to the school concerned. Macdonald and Ruddock (1971) considered that while such modifications might be an anathema to the outside project team, adaptability could be one of the attractive features of an innovation as far as the user is concerned. There is little doubt that many of the innovations occurring as a result of TVEI were adapted by the institutions involved, although the basic criteria of the Initiative appeared to remain intact. In this sense, the actual changes taking place seemed to be of less significance to the MSC, than the fact that innovations, within the general aims of the scheme, were occurring. The TVEI Unit did strive, however, to ensure that, as far as possible, the basic criteria of the Initiative were adhered to.

There is some doubt as to whether the possibility of resistance to, or subversion of, TVEI by LEAs and institutions had actually been considered by the MSC when setting up their early management structures. While attention seems to have been given to the processes of promotion and dissemination of change, very little consideration was given to resistance and subversion. This might have reflected the bureaucratic structure of the Commission, for it was perhaps assumed that when an agreement had been made to deliver a stated set of objectives (and in the case of TVEI, the objectives were also supported by a contract), that this would be adhered to.

'An institution which sees itself as a bureaucratic or legalistic hierarchy responds to instructions or laws from above. Such an institution works on the principle of obedience. Individuals, by their actions or failures to act, are not supposed to be in breach of instructions or laws.'

(Bell, Davey and Hughes 1988 p149)

Since the degree of resistance to, and subversion of, TVEI was actually quite large, the MSC had to give additional attention to overcoming these problems, and to reviewing its strategies for supporting the promotion and dissemination of the scheme in the face of considerable opposition.

The Dissemination of TVEI developments.

Guba and Clark (1965) consider innovation as a sequence of discrete change processes:

Research, Development, Dissemination, Demonstration, Implementation, Installation and Institutionalisation.

The first three of these can be seen to form part of the RD&D approach to curriculum change considered earlier in this Chapter. One of the major problems in the innovation process is to ensure that the change does eventually become institutionalised, and hence what happens to the innovation after the development stage is of key importance. In the model provided by Guba and Clark, the weak link is the demonstration stage since, for the innovation to proceed from dissemination to institutionalisation, it has to be shown to the user; has to be tried out; accepted; and finally allowed to become part of the normal practice. There is no guarantee, however, that, despite the qualities an innovation might have, it will be seen by practitioners and used.

The structure of TVEI allowed ideas to be more widely shared and tested, both within and between LEAs. In fact, the requirement made of LEAs, by the MSC, for TVEI developments to be disseminated, meant that practitioners often did become more aware of what was happening (ie in terms of the Guba and Clark (1965) model, changes were better demonstrated). However, much of the initial dissemination only occurred at the LEA Level. This process itself was variable, often not occurring outside the cohort of TVEI institutions. Beyond the individual institutions, the spreading of ideas was informal and unstructured and was more akin to what Hoyle (1976) describes as 'diffusion'. In part this was due to the MSC having insufficient personnel to deal with this aspect of the scheme, and also because the evaluation programme was slow to start and was insufficiently supported.

While the MSC had insufficient capacity to disseminate information, teachers themselves were often too hard-pressed to spend much of their time finding out what was happening elsewhere. Fiddy and Stronach (1987) have considered that a particular problem regarding TVEI dissemination was the lack of availability of time for teachers to find out what was happening, and as a result few people seemed to know what other TVEI projects did. This problem was exacerbated by the pressures from other changes, such as GCSE, taking place simultaneously. As a result, many teachers initially felt alienated from TVEI, and viewed its development with considerable suspicion and scepticism. There were therefore problems related to the installation of change as well as to its demonstration (Guba and Clark 1965).

Although TVEI has been able to disseminate developments within the individual LEAs involved (and also more recently between LEAs), there has been no guarantee that these developments would be adopted. In some institutions, developments failed to even start, because the indigenous 'gate-keepers' were too strongly opposed. In other cases, despite developments having been introduced into the institution, often as a result of outside pressures, there was no real intention for these to become institutionalised and fully adopted. Indeed, one of the issues that has been uncovered by TVEI is that while additional funding is a strong incentive for changes to occur, it cannot, by itself, change attitudes, and without this, there is no guarantee that the change will be sustained beyond the funding period. It is the change of attitude on the part of practitioners which appears critical to the establishment of long term change. One argument which has been

put forward by the MSC is that if practitioners are placed in a position in which they have to accommodate to change, the exposure to this change will eventually alter at least some of their attitudes. While this has been true for many people, it has also been apparent that attitudinal changes occurred most readily among those practitioners nearest to the involvement point, ie school co-ordinators and Heads of Departments. None-the-less the compelling nature of TVEI meant that, following the dissemination process, coercion was sometimes used to get changes implemented, and hence the demonstration stage suggested by Guba and Clark (1965) was replaced by a coercive stage.

Those who were less involved with TVEI tended to feel some degree of resentment over the enforced changes that were occurring, and this created a negative attitude which was likely to lead to a rejection of the change in the long term, rather than an acceptance of it. The lack of real involvement of all teachers in the scheme, and the insufficient dissemination of material to those not involved, has been a problem in relation to the genuine adoption of change through TVEI.

While innovation has occurred as a result of TVEI funding, this has not always been adopted as anticipated by the change agents, and there have been frequent adaptations and rejections.

'The accumulated evidence from TVEI pilots suggests that educational change is not a straightforward linear process which moves neatly through stages of initiation, implementation and institutionalisation.'

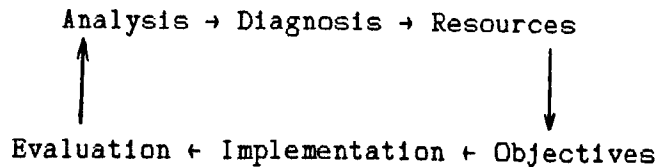
(Sims 1989 page 37)

The consequences of this have been that, on occasions, grass-roots reaction has modified both the original goals and some of the intended

processes. The original assumption made by the MSC, was that LEAs would interpret the aims of TVEI in accordance with their own local needs. However, since there was not a common understanding of these aims among the LEAs, there was some uncertainty over how they should be interpreted. An NFER evaluation of TVEI found that there was some dissonance between how change was intended and how participants actually experienced it (Lines and Stoney 1989). The pressure on projects to innovate meant that changes did take place. However, the changes were frequently conditioned by the attitudes and values of the professionals involved. Since the MSC was unable to monitor events closely, a sufficient ground swell of opinion developed to modify some of the original intentions. This was noticeable in those aspects of the scheme which related to classroom practice and to the structure of the curriculum. In particular, to the ways in which the work-related dimension of TVEI became incorporated into the curriculum, rather than the other way around. As a result, the expectations about TVEI were subverted to some extent, and the changes taking place became adapted more to the needs of the participants. TVEI has demonstrated that the change process is not straight forward, and that a different model for representing change is required.

An alternative model for categorising innovation in TVEI.

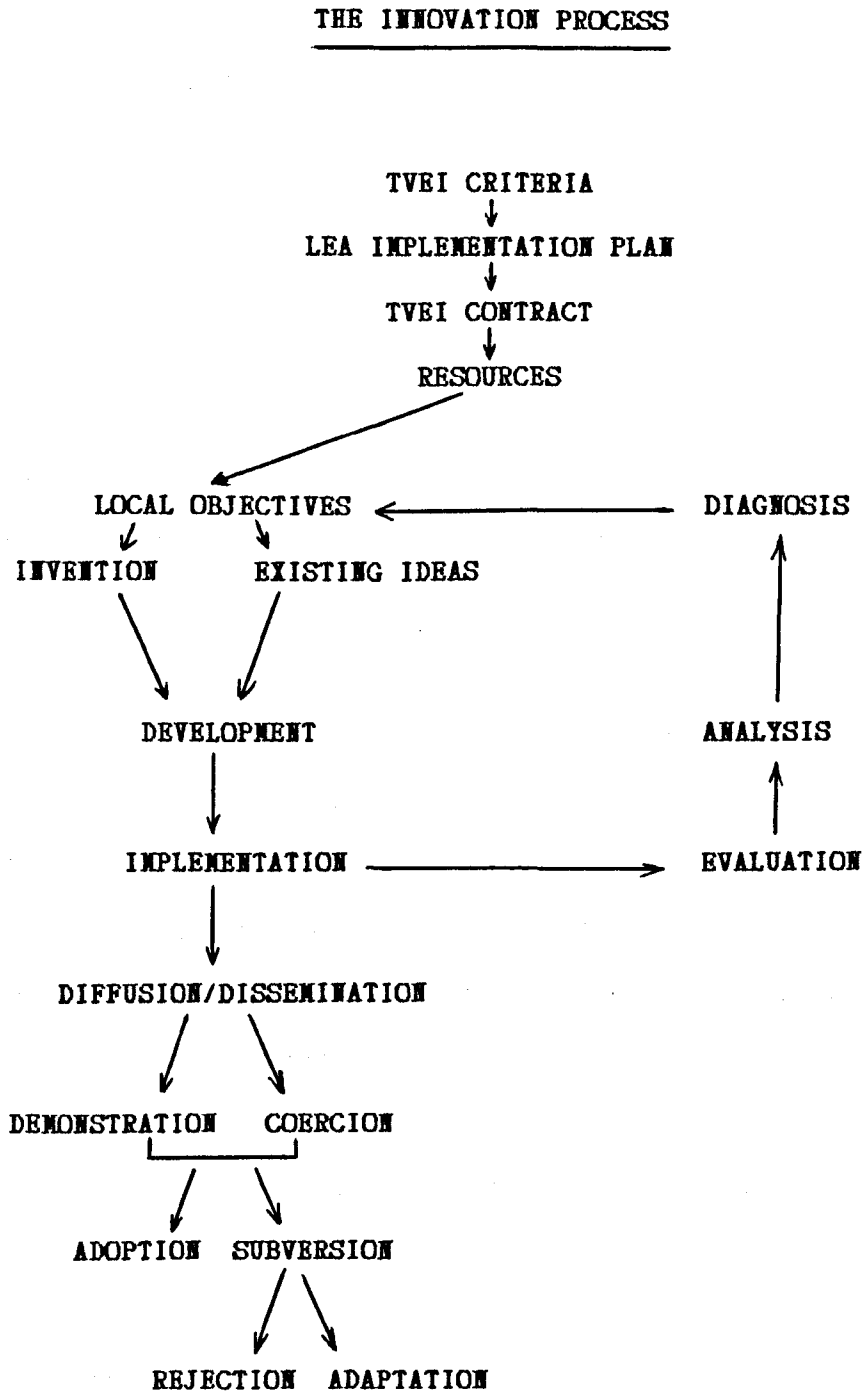
Both the Hoyle (1976) and the Guba and Clark (1965) models of innovation, therefore, have a number of limitations with regard to TVEI. Another model of innovation, which has been proposed by Bell (1982) relates more to the innovation process as an action research strategy:



Although this model has more similarities with the way in which TVEI has been developed than the Hoyle model does, there are still certain limitations. Bell has argued that the essential starting point for any innovation is a careful examination of the organisation itself. This might be interpreted as including: the degree of general consent over aims and objectives; how clearly job descriptions are defined; the existence of good communication systems and the soundness of staff morale. However, there seems to have been little consideration given to this particular feature when TVEI was set up. Instead, the starting points for the Initiative were built around the implementation of the national aims and criteria, and the provision of sufficient resources to meet these objectives. This reflected the centralist role taken by the MSC in managing change. The Commission also seemed to assume that the organisational structures within LEAs and schools were not suitable for assimilating a programme of radical change.

The local objectives for TVEI were later more clearly defined between the LEAs and the MSC on an annual cycle, and an action plan, together with target dates, was then set in motion. A difficulty for each LEA was that the objectives which were determined at these Annual Reviews tended to be ones for the LEA rather than for the institutions since the MSC tended to communicate directly with the LEAs rather than with their institutions. The consequence of this was that the intention to

Fig. 3.3



meet these objectives at the institutional level was varied depending on the LEA-school relationship. The actual implementation stage of TVEI was left to the discretion of the LEA but, again, this implied that the discretion actually lay with the institutions. Where the TVEI schemes were being rigidly imposed, the implementation of change followed a coercive strategy rather than a demonstrative one.

Figure 3.3 outlines the change model commonly found within TVEI projects. Following the acceptance of the LEA's plans for implementing the TVEI criteria, the MSC provided resources which were intended to be used to develop initiatives that would meet local needs. Although this was sometimes accomplished through the invention of new ideas, there was a general reliance on existing developments. The initiatives were developed and implemented in some parts of the Project, and the outcomes were either positively disseminated throughout, or more commonly allowed to spread through a natural process of diffusion. In some instances, other parts of the Project were encouraged to adopt these new ideas through a demonstration of their potential value, while in other cases there was a greater reliance on coercion. Some of the changes were accepted without much resistance and were fairly easily adopted, whilst others were occasionally rejected, or more commonly, because of the pressures for change operating in TVEI, adapted. The change process was evaluated, and following an analysis of the evaluation outcomes, the need to introduce further changes to meet local objectives was re-assessed.

Unlike the model for innovation proposed by Hoyle (1976), evaluation was seen as essential in both Bell's (1982) model and in the strategy used by the MSC. The evaluation programme put in place for TVEI was extensive and designed to inform the next planning stage of the individual project. The main purpose of the evaluation was to aid the analysis required for further planning. A problem arose, however, because LEAs were not generally in a position to provide accurate information for this purpose, and had not established structures for bringing this about. The result was that TVEI projects did not benefit as much as they might have from information which would have allowed them to plan more coherently around local needs.

In this Chapter, some of the major issues arising with regard to the implementation of TVEI have been considered. In the next two Chapters the discussion will focus more on the approaches which were used to introduce change at the local and institutional levels; consideration will be given to the roles adopted by the various participants, and to the strategies that they used to encourage or to prevent changes from taking place.

CHAPTER 4. APPROACHES TO MANAGING CHANGE WITHIN TVEI.

4.1 MSC MANAGEMENT OF TVEI.

The original criteria for TVEI stated that schemes should be 'locally managed' (MSC 1982b). This implied an imposition on the LEAs, as well as upon their institutions, to carry out this process. This led to three distinct levels of management of the Initiative, which in turn affected the relationships that existed within TVEI.

(i) The Manpower Services Commission. - National Management.

The management roles of the MSC included:

- Planning the Initiative,
- Communicating changes to LEAs,
- Directing the national programme,
- Monitoring developments (both locally and nationally),
- Motivating and encouraging projects,
- Supporting changes (possibly by the provision of extra funding, or by allowing virement of already committed funding).

(ii) The Local Education Authorities. - District Management.

The management roles of LEAs included:

- Planning local TVEI Provision,
- Communicating with Institutions and the MSC,
- Directing the local programme,
- Monitoring local developments,
- Monitoring and encouraging institutions,

- Supporting changes (possibly through their support agencies, or by providing INSET).

(iii) The Institutions. - Local management.

The management roles of the institutions included:

- Delivering the Initiative,
- Managing learning and teaching methods,
- Managing finance,
- Managing resources.

The management roles of the MSC and the LEAs were similar, in that they were both responsible for enabling learning and teaching to take place in the institutions. Neither, in effect, was responsible for the actual delivery of the scheme to the students. The institutions were most susceptible to scrutiny from those interested in how the Initiative was being delivered. It was in the institutions that key innovations were taking place, and it was at this level that the ultimate success of TVEI was being measured through what was happening in the classroom. While LEAs were accountable for developing and encouraging TVEI, the institutions were accountable for delivering the scheme and for achieving a public success for the Initiative.

In terms of the 'Recruitment mode' for curriculum change (Harland 1987), an LEA could have been seen as the licensee of the MSC, being empowered to deliver TVEI in its locality. In effect, an LEA's TVEI Unit became the agent of the MSC at the local level, and developed a similar set of roles to the parent body. As a result, the MSC tended

to deal directly with an LEA, rather than with its institutions. The critical management relationship for delivering TVEI, therefore, was that between an LEA and its schools and colleges. The actual approach used, however, was dependent on the previous management style of the LEA. Although it was possible to find the 'Recruitment mode' operating within some of the institutions licensed to deliver TVEI, because the LEA/institution relationship had frequently been less structured than this, other development modes tended to dominate. In many cases, the Autonomy mode operated (Harland 1987), since the institutions were largely free to decide for themselves how, and in what ways, they would develop TVEI. The LEA then merely provided advisory support and administrative back-up. In other cases, a 'Co-operation mode' (Harland 1987) operated in which a partnership between schools and the LEA was created with decisions, relating to TVEI, being taken by all groups collectively.

The fact that TVEI was intended to be a locally managed project caused considerable problems for the MSC (Stoney et al 1985). Although there was a requirement for the TVEI criteria to be met in each case, the methods used to achieve and monitor this were highly focussed on each separate locality. TVEI became the sum of some 100 individual schemes and, as a result, attempts to manage all of these from the centre proved to be very difficult.

The TVEI Regional Advisers, who were the designated professional field-officers of the MSC, were each responsible initially for some 12 projects. Within the time-scale available, this prevented them from

having little more than a superficial involvement with each one. Interviews with a number of Regional Advisers throughout the Country indicate that, because of the pressure of their work, they were able to meet, for any length of time, only with LEA personnel, and were unable to observe many of the developments taking place in the institutions. This resulted in the Regional Advisers' impressions of what was happening being determined to a considerable extent by the views of the LEA Project staff. In addition, during the early days of TVEI, Regional Advisers were also required to provide considerable support to the TVEI Unit in London, which was largely staffed by Civil Servants. This assisted in preventing them from having any real involvement with institutional developments. An additional problem was that, on occasions, there was an apparent lack of agreement over the interpretation of the basic criteria for TVEI, between the different MSC personnel involved. This appeared to be the result of much of the 'philosophy' not having been clearly articulated and to some of it being developed at the periphery rather than at the centre.

These factors meant that the district management of TVEI assumed a much greater dimension than the MSC had perhaps originally envisaged. Although LEAs were accountable to the MSC for TVEI developments, it was impossible to impose this accountability to any great extent. As a result, the MSC was perceived by many as gradually becoming the supporter and adviser for TVEI, rather than its manager. It was possible, for instance, to observe a change in the role of the Regional Advisers as the Initiative expanded, since they seemed to operate in a more remote fashion than they might have wished, and were involved more

with policy making than in working with practitioners. As a result, the Regional Advisers tended to adopt a less inspectorial stance. This was partly a result of their changing perceptions of their own role, and because of the difficulties involved in carrying out a monitoring and inspectorial function within the limited time available.

This is illustrated by the way in which the proposals for TVEI Extension schemes, submitted by LEAs, were dealt with. Since TVEI had originally been commissioned as a set of pilot projects, intended to provide lessons about the development of vocational education and training, it might have been expected that there would have been considerable formative feedback between the MSC and the LEAs concerned, so that partnerships of development could occur. In fact, when LEAs submitted their Extension schemes, it became clear that, while they themselves had learned lessons from their pilots, they had little knowledge of how the MSC viewed their state of preparation. A number of LEAs were surprised to discover that their Extension proposals had been turned down. It was also surprising that LEAs, which had spent considerable sums of MSC money and had expended a great deal of time in development work, were, in terms of their Extension proposals, primarily judged on the quality of their submissions alone. This too reflected the inadequate knowledge that the MSC was able to glean about the progress being made through TVEI, and the inability of the Commission to work collaboratively with the LEAs.

In retrospect, the various extension stages of TVEI probably occurred too rapidly. Whilst the MSC was able to deal adequately with the

initial group of 14 pilot schemes, they had neither the structures nor the personnel to deal with TVEI on a national scale. This meant that their control over the Initiative diminished, and the capability of their advisers and officers genuinely to monitor and encourage developments was considerably reduced. As Merson and Bell (1987) have pointed out, when referring to certain difficulties encountered by one of the TVEI projects that they were evaluating:

'The MSC has perhaps not been as effective a guiding force in this respect as it might have been.....a firmer guiding hand from the MSC could have avoided the worst difficulties which the projects faced and would have provided much needed early advice and assistance.

(Merson and Bell 1987 p47)

Neither did it appear possible to use the results of national and local evaluation to influence and direct the changes that were occurring in TVEI. In some cases this led to projects repeating the same mistakes, and coming up against problems that other projects had already solved. There was certainly evidence of a considerable 'reinvention of the wheel' in TVEI, despite the stress that had been placed upon the dissemination of good practice (Fiddy and Stronach 1987).

A consequence of the lessening of the MSC hold over TVEI was that local practitioners, particularly in the institutions, were able to take a more pro-active role in the development of the Initiative. In many ways this had considerable benefits, since the schemes tended to lose much of their perceived threat, and became more acceptable to the practitioners to develop and own.

In some LEAs, this 'grass roots' surge was encouraged by the MSC, because it made development simpler, and assisted staff in engaging

more in INSET and curriculum development work. Indeed the lessening of the MSC control over TVEI could be interpreted as part of the 'pump-priming' philosophy used by the Commission, which gave considerable support to schemes at the start but decreased as they began to succeed. In cost terms, this was very acceptable to the MSC, since it allowed the TVEI Unit to deal with a larger number of projects whilst still employing roughly the same number of people; however, in development terms this strategy was probably marred, since it produced other sets of tensions for the parties involved, which reduced the effectiveness of TVEI. These will be referred to later in this Chapter.

As a result of the greater ownership of TVEI by local practitioners, the changes taking place at the periphery became more idiosyncratic, and there was an even greater variety of innovation. Although the commitment by teachers to developing the TVEI criteria increased, the outcomes were more in line with the teachers' perceptions rather than those of the MSC. TVEI became more than the interpretation of 100 LEAs. It grew into the interpretation of some 500 institutions. The amount of freedom given to institutions to develop their own ideas did depend, however, on the LEA context. Dale (1986) argued that the actual scope for real variation in TVEI was limited by the very nature and ideology of the Initiative as originally determined by the MSC. However, because the MSC was insufficiently equipped to monitor institutional changes, there was still a considerable variation from the anticipated outcomes.

Although the changes occurring within LEAs probably did have an effect on the MSC's view of TVEI, there was little clear indication given to LEAs by the TVEI Unit about which projects were regarded as having acceptable development programmes. This may have been because the MSC had no real way of knowing. The problems for the MSC, produced by a lack of personnel with expertise to monitor, support and evaluate TVEI, had a profound effect on the Initiative. This theme will be taken up again in Chapter 9.

The change of ownership of the Initiative was a significant factor in the history of TVEI. Harland (1987b) has defined what she sees as the 'paradox of control':

On the one hand, 'strong central control of a kind which has permitted the detailed intervention of a central government agency right down to the level of the classroom', on the other, 'a teacher response which is, in many pilot schemes, creative and innovative, and often indeed experimental and downright risky'.

(Harland 1987b page 43)

This concept of dual control has already been reflected in the discussion in the last section, for it became apparent during this research that the tensions between the MSC and the TVEI institutions tended to relax as the Pilot developed, and as a more 'grass-roots' innovative style was introduced. While this, in part, reflected a lack of capability by the MSC to maintain a control over TVEI, it also pointed to the fact that, while the MSC had had considerable experience of training schemes, their knowledge of education was limited, and they were more readily influenced, therefore, by practitioners in the classrooms. Indeed, it might be argued, that, as the scheme developed, the influence exerted by the MSC tended to be more concerned with

stimulating change and reducing inertia, than in merely seeking a compliance with the more narrow criteria at first laid down for TVEI. Senker (1986) has argued that the real lack of objectives, as distinct from aims and criteria, on a national level, caused problems in monitoring and evaluating developments. While the objectives for TVEI pilot schemes were set at district level, these tended to be specific to the individual needs of LEA projects, and served only to add to the variety of development (Pring 1985). The management of TVEI tended to reflect the tensions between the centre and the periphery of the Initiative and, as will be argued in Chapter 9, this eventually resulted in an equilibrium being generated between the two extremes, which was largely conditioned by the relative management styles of the major participants involved.

4.2 THE ROLES OF CHANGE AGENTS IN TVEI.

The mechanisms for innovation used by the MSC had consequences for the change agents involved in the process. A number of writers have produced change agent role classifications (eg Hoyle 1970 and Jones 1969), and Havelock (1969) has distinguished nine possible roles that an agent might fulfil:

Conveyor, consultant, trainer, leader, innovator, defender, knowledge builder, practitioner and user.

The 'Linkage Model' of curriculum development has been discussed in the previous Chapter. Havelock (1969) has recognised that these roles, which could be seen operating within this particular model, seldom

occur in isolation, and that at any one time a change agent will possibly be fulfilling several of them simultaneously. The particular roles which a change agent develops will also be conditioned by the particular User system and Innovation system involved (Bolam 1975). Another typology has been proposed by Lippitt, Watson and Westley (1958), in which change agents could be seen:

- (a) Diagnosing the nature of the client system's problems.
- (b) Assessing motivations and capacities to change.
- (c) Appraising the agent's own motivations and resources.
- (d) Selecting appropriate change objectives.
- (e) Choosing an appropriate helping role.
- (f) Establishing and maintaining the helping relationship.
- (g) Recognising and guiding the phases of the change process.
- (h) Contributing to the development of the basic skills and theories of the profession.
- (i) Choosing the specific techniques and modes of behaviour which will be appropriate to each progressive encounter in the change relationship.

Hoyle (1970) has argued that two further elements should be added to this list:

- (j) Achieving an appropriate terminal relationship with the client system.
- (k) Providing or recommending forms of support for the on-going innovation.

These typologies demonstrate a clear consensus of opinion about the possible roles taken by change agents. TVEI was in many respects,

however, a new type of innovation, it will be argued that the roles of the change agents involved with this initiative are not entirely congruent with either list. There were a number of different categories of change agents supporting TVEI who tended to operate in a variety of different ways. These change agents operated from and within, the MSC, the LEAs and the institutions, and also from external agencies such as the universities.

The MSC itself was mainly a change agent at LEA level; the contract had been drawn up with the LEA, the submission belonged to the LEA, funding was provided to the LEA, the LEA managed its own scheme and it was the LEA, and not its institutions, that was accountable to the MSC for the ways in which TVEI developed. It was the LEA, therefore, that was most closely involved with the principal change agent, the MSC. It was generally at LEA level that innovation was most positively adopted. The TVEI contract was a considerable incentive in itself for changes to be introduced, but this was also supported through the intervention of Regional Advisers and Civil Servants operating on behalf of the TVEI Unit. These people worked mainly at LEA level rather than with individual institutions. There were also indications that the Regional Advisers were able to operate as change agents within the MSC itself. Although the TVEI Unit tended to operate strictly in accordance with the guidelines which had been laid down by the National Steering Group for the Initiative, the professional views of the Regional Advisers were sometimes effective in encouraging different interpretations of these guidelines.

As far as the schools and colleges were concerned, however, the MSC had been unable to achieve much direct impact at this level. It was the LEA which became the principal change agent for them. This was not, of course, a new role for some LEAs. For others, however, this far more direct and overt involvement in the affairs of their institutions was a new departure. This caused problems in a number of cases, since most LEAs did not have the resources to achieve a high profile in curriculum development and project management at the institutional level. The capabilities of the LEAs to monitor and evaluate the developments taking place were also severely limited, and the administrative capacity required to cope with a large scale innovation was not usually available. LEAs, therefore, created new management structures, using TVEI resources, in an attempt to meet these demands.

In terms of the roles which Lippitt, Watson and Westley (1958) and Hoyle (1970) have suggested that change agents might fill, the majority of those directly involved with TVEI were concerned with attempting to ensure that the criteria were implemented and delivered within the framework of the LEA's submission. Hence the major change agent activities were:

- diagnosing the problems of the schools and colleges,
- selecting appropriate change objectives,
- choosing appropriate helping roles,
- establishing and maintaining the helping relationship,
- recognising and guiding the phases of the change process,
- providing or recommending forms of support for the on-going innovation.

In addition, since some of the change agents were directly concerned with the delivery of the TVEI contract itself, they were often found to:

- stress the need to achieve the required objectives,
- encourage the efficient use of resources,
- set up sub-structures to assist with the developmental processes,
- encourage the use of evaluation as a mechanism for assisting with development and accountability.

The ways in which the various change agents undertook these different roles will be considered in the following sections.

4.3 LEA CHANGE AGENTS.

Within a majority of LEAs, the main change agents were the TVEI project co-ordinators and their central TVEI teams (curriculum co-ordinators and advisory teachers). LEA advisers and inspectors did not always have a high profile in this respect, because many of this group were subject specialists, for whom TVEI was not an obvious interest. Thus they were excluded. TVEI was a cross-phase Initiative (and hence fell outside the immediate brief of many secondary or Further Education advisers), which was perceived as being just another small-scale innovation, with a limited life, and therefore not of any great consequence. Sims (1989) has commented:

'Few reported that LEA support on the educational details of the Initiative had been consistently adequate'.

(Sims 1989 p17)

As a result, TVEI co-ordinators often had considerable power since they assumed the position of experts in this area, and had the resources to back them up. This did pose problems. For instance, when the Extension of TVEI was announced, and LEAs perceived, perhaps for the first time, that TVEI was not just another small-scale development but rather one which had the potential to create a considerable impact, any previous failure of advisers and inspectors to become involved with TVEI, led to the prejudicing of an LEA's opportunities for early entry into the Extension phase. The MSC viewed such failure as a lack of real commitment to TVEI by those LEAs affected in this way.

a) The TVEI Project Co-ordinator Role.

The frequent lack of LEA adviser input into TVEI meant that the role of the LEA TVEI co-ordinator became central to the development of the Initiative within institutions. These individuals became the key people in encouraging change. It was often their interpretation of the TVEI criteria that had the fundamental impact on the ways in which Authorities developed their schemes. Lloyd (1985), for instance, has described the project co-ordinators as the 'key' figures in line management terms, being expected to:

- report directly to the Director of Education and to be responsible for the implementation, development and operation of the scheme,
- support the project's Steering Committee by submitting regular reports relating to the scheme,
- liaise between the MSC, the LEA, and the schools and colleges.
- lead a team of support staff within the Authority,

- act as a spokesperson for the project through the local media, voluntary organisations, Parent Teacher Associations.

The major task initially for the co-ordinators was to set up their TVEI schemes and to get these under way. Surprisingly, this was not always done in close consultation with LEA officers, since once the submission had been made and accepted, many Directors of Education seemed to assume that it was then merely a matter of delivery. In fact the task was far more substantial than this, and the success that co-ordinators had depended upon their ability to create and maintain operating systems. They frequently achieved this objective through small central support teams, which initially, however, provided only administrative back-up. Co-ordinators worked closely with the MSC (which in a sense was their paymaster), and with those schools and colleges which were involved directly with the scheme; their impact on other institutions was far less, since these did not provide the same entry route for the co-ordinators. Their role initially was also involved with public relations, and co-ordinators spent a considerable amount of their time talking with parents, industrialists and elected members. As pointed out previously, TVEI was a contentious initiative, and the MSC was keen to promote a better image for the scheme.

In addition, it was observed that project co-ordinators needed to:

- (i) have a view and an understanding of the whole 14-18 curriculum,
- (ii) be capable curriculum developers,
- (iii) have considerable managerial and organisational flair,

(iv) demonstrate personal skills and credibility among other highly influential people, if they were to successfully implement TVEI. The facilities available to project co-ordinators often led to their becoming able to control and encourage change, backed by the resource-led criteria laid down by the MSC. However, when these people were first appointed they did not generally have the necessary repertoire of skills to fulfil all these roles, and hence they had to grow into their new position. Sims (1989) has argued, from his evaluation of TVEI Projects, that:

'Co-ordinating TVEI projects was an experiential learning process'.
(Sims 1989 p14)

Some co-ordinators, of course, never acquired the full range of skills, while others brought different skills to bear. The eventual success of the co-ordinators depended, then, upon their management abilities, and how well aspects of their work were delegated to others. Needless to say, not all co-ordinators did fill the role adequately. However, those that were able to persevere and succeed often found their career prospects considerably enhanced. The Project Co-ordinator in Warwickshire, for instance, was promoted to a Senior Inspector post within the LEA, and a number of others went on to headships or joined Her Majesty's Inspectorate.

In most respects, the combination of roles required by a co-ordinator was a new portfolio for LEA personnel, and there was a clear lack of understanding about the development of such a position. Lloyd (1985) acknowledged that LEAs recognised the importance of the role by making appointments at Headteacher Group 9 or 10 salary levels. It will be

pointed out later, however, that this was not always the case, particularly in the early days, and this did have an effect on the development of TVEI locally. In most cases, because the co-ordinator role was outside the experience of most LEA officers, appointments were made from senior teachers in large secondary schools, or from LEA advisers (often on a secondment basis). This was the position in all five TVEI projects being evaluated by the University of Warwick.

LEAs often allowed their co-ordinators considerable freedom of manoeuvre, perhaps because the role was not fully understood, and because many co-ordinators saw themselves as much servants of the MSC, as of the LEA. This was also encouraged by the MSC. Lloyd (1985) considered that the ability of the co-ordinator to influence change stemmed from:

- (i) his ability to control the implementation and operation of a scheme,
- (ii) his access to information,
- (iii) his expert power as an administrator,
- (iv) his ability to control resource allocation.

The ways in which each of these factors was achieved affected the success individual co-ordinators had. There were no existing role models on which the incumbents of the posts could mould themselves, and hence there was a considerable amount of rapid and idiosyncratic development. Some common approaches were later introduced through the intervention of Regional TVEI Advisers, and by the setting up of regional TVEI co-ordinator networks. Initially the co-ordinators

ploughed their own furrows and developed their own particular operational strategies. As a result of this isolation, opportunities for sharing with other TVEI co-ordinators were often quickly seized upon, and something akin to a TVEI 'Club' emerged in some parts of the Country. This not only provided mutual support to the co-ordinators involved, but also reinforced the discreteness of the initiative with which they were associated.

It is necessary at this point to distinguish between the management and administration functions for which co-ordinators were responsible. Some co-ordinators saw their role as primarily a management one (ie getting the aims and objectives of their TVEI scheme achieved through other people), while others saw their task as a more administrative one (ie maintaining the various systems and resources, while letting others undertake the management of change role). In most cases co-ordinators undertook both functions to some extent at different times, although the ways in which they did this were critical to their success. While it is difficult to generalise, this research has indicated that where co-ordinators undertook a mainly administrative function, TVEI projects tended to be less innovative than those in which co-ordinators took the lead in managing change. While co-ordinators who undertook an administrative function seemed to be able to influence LEA officers more than their 'manager' counterparts, the latter appeared to have more influence on the work of the practitioners in the schools.

It was often possible for co-ordinators to act independently within their LEAs, particularly if their approach was supported by the MSC's

philosophy. This situation led initially to an estrangement of TVEI in some LEAs: Lloyd (1985), for instance, in relation to Herefordshire and Worcestershire TVEI, commented that the autonomy of the TVEI Unit was such that it could have become an isolated part of the education system in the County. The role of the TVEI co-ordinator, therefore, was one which could give rise to potential conflict. Within LEAs, there was obvious overlap with the work of both officers and advisers, and within the institutions, with the role of the headteachers and principals. The unique nature of the co-ordinator role, however, meant that, frequently, there was an ill-defined line-management structure, and co-ordinators found themselves operating in a somewhat isolated, yet powerful, position.

As LEAs gradually realised that TVEI was not going to be a short term digression, but rather a universal scheme lasting for up to ten years, they began to assimilate their co-ordinators more into the structures of their Education Departments. Since TVEI was developing into a mechanism for encouraging change, this led to them becoming key personnel in determining future LEA policy, particularly within the 14-18 phase.

'Politicians, MSC and LEA officers know the complexities of the adoption process; practitioners know the complexities of the implementation process....the task of bridging the divide is the province of the project co-ordinator who is the key change agent in TVEI schemes.

(Sims 1989 p3)

The management position of co-ordinators in the LEAs, however, was often ambivalent. On the one hand their role was partly advisory, while

on the other it was administrative and concerned with the implementation of policy. As a result, some co-ordinators became members of advisory teams and also in some cases of officer groups in their LEAs. It is interesting to note that within TVEI Extension a number of LEAs opted to appoint Advisory Officers for TVEI (eg Suffolk), thus attempting to combine the two functions.

Since TVEI co-ordinators had had considerable involvement with, and ownership over, the developments taking place in their projects, and had invested a great deal of 'themselves' into their schemes, any initial uncertainties that they might have had about the Initiative seem to have been rapidly dispelled. As a result, it was highly unusual to find any TVEI co-ordinators who had any real doubts about the values being promulgated through TVEI.

b) The TVEI Central Team.

In addition to the project co-ordinator, TVEI projects also employed central support staff (Hinckley 1988). The nature of these teams varied between projects. All projects recruited clerical staff to assist the co-ordinators with their administrative responsibilities, but the amount of curriculum and professional support provided centrally was often quite small. The make-up of the central teams often reflected the curriculum emphasis within TVEI projects. All of the projects considered in this thesis had staff appointed to support the installation and management of the new technology being introduced, and to assist with the organisation of specific features of TVEI schemes such as work experience for pupils. The need to introduce

computer networks into schools, and to maintain them, was seen as essential by all the projects, and in two of the LEAs technician support was provided centrally. In the third LEA, the technician support was provided in each individual school. In order to assist with the delivery of work experience schemes, particularly in those schools that had had no previous involvement, careers officers for TVEI were appointed in two of the LEAs. In fact, because the level of centrally provided professional support was limited, some of these people became unofficial assistants to the project co-ordinators, providing administrative and managerial support in ways that they had not been recruited for. In the third project, the same sort of support was provided by a person who had been appointed to deal with curriculum development issues. As TVEI developed, and the need for more central support was recognised, the teams were frequently augmented by advisory teachers.

4.4 INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AGENTS.

One of the problems, when attempting to analyse the nature of innovation at the institutional level, is that institutions vary considerably in their interest in undertaking the change, and in their capability to achieve it. The characteristics of a single school or college are the result of the interactions of a wide range of professionals with different backgrounds and aspirations, who are working towards a whole series of possibly disparate goals with a broad spectrum of client groups. As a result, it is not easy to generalise from the particular case. The power of the headteacher to determine the overall direction that a school will take needs to be set

against the fact that schools are staffed by professionals who have their own personal and private agendas for action. It has to be acknowledged that collectively schools have diffuse goals and that the professionals in the schools would not necessarily agree with all of those anyway. It was possible to find situations in which the aims and objectives of TVEI were accepted by some teachers in a school and not others; where the aims were being introduced into some classrooms and not others; and where some teachers were introducing TVEI against the advice of the headteacher. Although headteachers have considerable power, their ability to stifle innovation, particularly if this were strongly supported by the LEA, is comparatively weak. Conversely, some teachers failed to introduce TVEI effectively, despite the support that their headteacher gave to the Initiative.

The low degree of consensus of opinion among teachers, about the aims and processes of education, probably assisted the MSC and the LEAs in introducing TVEI, since teachers in any one school tended not to act collectively to oppose the scheme. Indeed, despite the negative reactions to TVEI nationally, the teacher associations themselves did not actually advise their members on how they should respond to the Initiative. However, despite this, it also has to be acknowledged that most institutions have a collective cohesion which tends to create a corporate identity for its members, and that this can become a substantial barrier to externally generated innovations.

'Any organisation will develop a strong in-feeling against everything that lies outside. There is likely to be some hostility towards new ideas if they orientate from outside.'

(Bell 1982 p8)

When TVEI schemes started in the LEAs, the aims and objectives of the Initiative were familiar to only a few people in each project. At the institutional level, it was quite possible to find that nobody was familiar with the aims. In a number of cases, schools had been selected by their LEAs for inclusion in the proposed TVEI scheme with little or no discussion having taken place with the institutions concerned. Where schools had been invited to bid for entry, there was often a poor understanding of what was intended, because of the speed at which the bids had to be completed. These outcomes led to unease within the institutions, and made the management task of the central TVEI staff potentially very difficult. A consequence of this, therefore, was the need to identify and involve change agents in each of the institutions as soon as possible. Where headteachers had been included in the discussions over the entry of their schools into TVEI, it was quite likely that they would wish to develop the Initiative further, and quite commonly they became important change agents themselves. If, however, this was not the case, and headteachers felt that TVEI was being imposed upon them, and that their autonomy to run their own schools was being threatened, they became important gatekeepers, and ones who frequently resisted or subverted any new initiatives. For most teachers in the schools, TVEI was an unknown quantity. In many cases they felt that the changes taking place would not have any direct effect upon them anyway, since initially TVEI had tended to target only certain areas of the curriculum. In fact, however, many of the teachers working in these areas had themselves only heard of TVEI for the first time when they were invited by their project co-ordinator to submit schemes to bid for resources, and hence

for them, TVEI was often welcomed as a windfall. A result of this differential funding was that some teachers, who were not involved, then became critical of the way in which TVEI was seen to be advantaging only certain areas of the curriculum. As a result, among the staff of a school, groups of teachers appeared who were either for, against or neutral as far as TVEI was concerned, and these groups then played important roles in the way in which TVEI developed in that institution. Each institution was invited to nominate a co-ordinator to work on the introduction of TVEI and to liaise with the LEA's central team. The ways in which these people worked, and the roles they filled, will be discussed more fully later in this Chapter, but clearly they were potentially important change agents in the whole process. They were also significant in determining the reaction of schools towards the project.

The response of individual institutions towards their entry to TVEI was conditioned by a large number of features, paramount among which were the attitudes of:

- the headteacher and senior staff,
- the key gate-keepers, including those Heads of Departments who had not benefited from TVEI funding,
- the key change agents, including those Heads of Departments that had benefited, and the institution's TVEI co-ordinators.

The importance of these responses was that they affected the ways in which institutions interacted with the TVEI central team, and taken

together, they produce a collective response to TVEI to which Dale (1986) has referred as the 'TVEI Effect'; he considered:

- the institutional reactions to the TVEI guidelines,
- the interpretations that were subsequently offered, and
- the prominence which the scheme was given.

He referred to the prominence of TVEI in individual institutions as the 'salience' and he considered that it had three principal measurements:

- (i) the identity of TVEI in the school, ie how well publicised the scheme was, how much stress it was given, and what the audience for the marketing strategy was,
- (ii) the integration of TVEI in the school, ie how separate the groups for TVEI were; for instance, whether they were a separate class with separate accommodation. In addition, how far those teachers not directly involved with TVEI were introduced to its developments,
- (iii) the compass of TVEI in the school, ie how far it penetrated and influenced the rest of the school, eg in timetabling terms. In addition how far the 'infection' of non-TVEI pupils, by the processes affecting the TVEI cohort (for instance profiling, Active Learning and work experience), occurred.

There appear, however, to be a number of limitations to this particular definition of salience:

- (i) It does not take into account the nature of the relationship between the LEA and the school, particularly in terms of the control mechanisms which were being exerted. For instance,

in an LEA which had become accustomed to directing change within its institutions it would have been possible to find all these features in existence, and yet to observe that TVEI was in actuality given little real status by the staff.

- (ii) Where the style of the headteacher was autocratic, it would again have been possible for all these features to be operating without the staff having any real ownership over the changes taking place.
- (iii) These particular features are dependent on the ways in which the TVEI criteria are interpreted. For instance, it could be argued that the MSC actually encouraged the maintenance of a discrete cohort of pupils in a school and did not want the scheme to be overmarketed; a school, operating according to that interpretation of the guidelines, might then have been regarded as demonstrating a certain philosophy, whereas in fact it was merely acceding to a particular interpretation of the 'rules'.
- (iv) A number of the objectives of TVEI might have been operating already in the school prior to the scheme starting. For instance, work experience and pupil profiling both predated TVEI, and their existence in the institution would not necessarily have demonstrated a high prominence for TVEI.

A number of other important indicators of 'salience' can also be identified:

(1) The status given to the TVEI staff in the school;

This would have included, for instance;

- the nature of the appointments made to TVEI posts in the school; in particular whether the posts had been advertised in the first place as attractive, high status positions, and whether the appointments made had been internal or external to the school,
- the amount of influence that TVEI staff were permitted to have within the overall planning cycle for the school,
- the general influence that they had, both officially and unofficially, in the school. The degree of unofficial influence would have been very much conditioned by the perceived status of these individuals among other staff. The number of appointments made to TVEI posts, of teachers with known standing of this sort, would also have been a critical indicator of the prominence of TVEI in the school.

(11) The status given to 'TVEI subjects', such as Technology and Business Studies.

- This could be related to how far the status existed before TVEI started and how far it was extended afterwards. The measure of status here could be linked not only with issues

such as timetabling, but also with the prominence given in the school prospectus, and in the allocation of staffing allowances and other resources to these areas of the curriculum.

Despite the reservations about Dale's concept of 'salience', in its extended form, it does provide a useful structure for analysing institutional reactions to TVEI, and will be used in Chapter 6 to assess the reactions of the various institutions in one LEA to the Initiative. It is important to realise also, that the effect that the Initiative might have on an institution is conditioned by more than just the pressures emanating from the project and the MSC. There are both gate-keepers and change agents within every institution, who will affect the process of adoption of change. Dale (1985) recognises that the process of change was not wholly dependent on persuasion and marshalling of voluntary effort in the schools, since LEAs and schools were contractually accountable for the changes they proposed to make. He argues that because of the coercive nature of TVEI, it was the school that had to adjust to the innovation rather than the other way around. The issues which seem to be of vital importance here, however, are: how far any adjustment to TVEI actually occurred, how institutionalised the resultant changes became, and whether the innovation was modified by schools to satisfy their own purposes.

It was at the level of the individual institution that the contractual obligation to TVEI was weakest, particularly in those LEAs in which institutions had had little real say over their involvement in the TVEI

scheme in the first place, and where no real obligation on the part of the school to the LEA existed. The roles of the institutional change agents were vital in these cases, as was the relationship the change agents had with the central project co-ordinator. The roles undertaken by the headteachers and principals were particularly crucial.

a) THE HEADTEACHER/PRINCIPAL ROLE IN TVEI.

The potential power of the headteacher of a school (Sikes 1986) means that at the institutional level heads will be the prime gate-keepers, ie they will make the major decisions about which changes to make in their schools, and which ideas to introduce from outside. Bolam (1975) has recognised that these same individuals may also be the prime change agents, at least as far as the staff of the institutions are concerned, and they will often be paramount in encouraging and facilitating change.

Attitudes of headteachers towards TVEI varied considerably, Sikes and Taylor (1987) argued that the introduction of TVEI into their institutions was seen by some headteachers as threatening a reduction in their autonomy. This could well have resulted, in the pilot stage of TVEI at least, from:

- (1) the closeness with which headteachers had to work with the project co-ordinator, an individual who some might have seen as a potential rival for control of this aspect of the work of their school (Beattie 1986),

- (ii) the imposition, placed upon headteachers, to develop a scheme along lines laid down by an outside agency,
- (iii) the possible consequences of having certain departments, staff and pupils in their schools being seen as separate from the rest of the school (the 'enclave' effect, Saunders 1986),
- (iv) the accountability element resulting from being regularly monitored, evaluated, and assessed. This could have implied an expectation, by those outside the institution, that the aims of the scheme would need to be seen to be delivered (Sikes 1986, Sikes and Taylor 1987).

The imposition of TVEI by some LEAs did affect the way in which headteachers reacted. The actual outcome was a function of the previous relationships which existed between the school and the LEA. Sikes (1986) has argued that there could have been a diminution of the headteacher's authority, as a result of TVEI, over:

- what goes on in the institution,
- when it takes place,
- how staff are deployed,
- which students take which courses, and
- the allocation and the use of resources.

Various tensions arose in many schools as a result of TVEI, and this list provides some examples of these. This became a particularly

important feature where TVEI project co-ordinators, who saw it as their role and possibly their duty to ensure that things did happen as a result of TVEI, were determined to take over the management of the Initiative in the schools themselves, thus threatening the headteacher's autonomy. In effect, because of the cross-curricular nature of TVEI, and the emphasis that it gradually came to place on process rather than output, there were few management aspects of a school into which the TVEI co-ordinator could not have encroached. Where LEAs had previously been pro-active in encouraging change within their institutions, headteachers seemed to feel less threatened than in those LEAs in which headteachers had had considerable autonomy.

1) TVEI and the Headteacher.

In addition to the school-LEA relationship, Lines and Stoney (1989) commented that they found headteachers to be the dominant people in encouraging change to take place in their institutions, and identified the key roles which they played in facilitating the introduction of innovations. The ways in which headteachers reacted to TVEI were dependent upon a great many factors, eg:

- their view of TVEI,
- their management styles,
- their confidence in their own leadership capability,
- their acceptance of shared developments with other institutions,
- their previous relationship with the LEA.

In addition to those features identified by Lines and Stoney, the ways in which headteachers viewed the whole curriculum, and in particular

how they saw that curriculum being delivered to all children, were of key importance, since TVEI might well have been acknowledged as a divisive scheme. Another significant factor was the extent to which headteachers saw their schools relating to their local community, as defined by parents, industrialists and other interested parties, because TVEI could have been interpreted as an initiative that was intended to further this particular objective. As a consequence, therefore, the ways in which TVEI was developed in different institutions were greatly affected by the attitudes of the headteachers. For instance, those heads who were confident of being able to contain TVEI within their own educational vision and who had developed management styles that had been successful in moulding their teachers together into coherent units, were likely to adopt the initiative without too many qualms. However, according to Saunders (1985), the manner in which factors, such as those considered previously, influenced the attitudes of headteachers towards TVEI were critical to whether the scheme became:

(i) Contained - absorbed by the existing school pattern,

(ii) Accommodated - adapted to fit the general shape of the existing pattern,

or brought about:

(iii) Adaptive Extension - in which TVEI was used to change the whole curriculum.

This is a rather limited categorisation, since it ignores the possibility of the institution and the project developing together in a mutually beneficial way ('Mutual Development'). The actual position in an institution was often a combination of the modes proposed by Saunders, and was found to depend upon the particular stage in the development of TVEI, and the circumstances which were influential.

Headteachers accepted involvement in TVEI for their own personal reasons, for instance:

- the available funding;
- opportunities for change;
- the anticipated kudos;
- to comply with the LEA's demands,

and Gleeson (1987) has argued that the particular typology proposed by Saunders (1985) is too static to consider past movement or future intentions. Although this has also been borne out in this research, the typology does provide a useful model for analysing change in relation to TVEI, and will be used in Chapter 6 to consider the important role headteachers had in encouraging adoption or rejection of the Initiative within their institutions.

11) Headship styles.

There is a considerable literature about this topic; for instance, Baron G (1956), Bernbaum G (1970), Cohen L (1970), Hoyle E (1968), Hughes M (1972), Lewis C (1967), and Westwood L (1966) have all commented on the ways in which headteachers operate. Although a complete study of these texts is beyond the scope and purpose of this

thesis, Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) have, in relation to TVEI, identified four ideal types of headship:

- **Traditional Authoritarian.**

Heads in this category will make all the major decisions about the aims and purposes of their schools, and will determine the manner in which their schools operate. They see their status giving them the authority to operate in this way.

- **Participative.**

Heads in this category will work closely with the staff of their schools to agree shared aims and objectives, and to develop a collegial style of management. They see themselves as being the leading members of professional teams.

- **Charismatic.**

Heads in this category will attempt to lead their schools through the power of their personalities. They see their authority emanating from their wisdom and experience rather than from their position of responsibility, and anticipate that staff will follow their lead.

- **Bureaucratic.**

Heads in this category tend to rely upon the LEA, or other outside body, to determine the aims of their schools. They see their role as being to ensure that the administration of the

school is adequately dealt with, and that the various systems operate effectively.

Sikes (1986) has argued that the way in which TVEI was implemented in a school was critically dependent on the particular style adopted by the headteacher, since this determined the way in which the head viewed the changes taking place, and also defined the status and functions of the various staff in the school in relation both to TVEI and to the LEA.

The typology produced by Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) presents a rather restricted view of headship styles, since the approaches used by headteachers will vary with time and purpose, and can and do involve a combination of all the styles identified. Hughes (1975) has argued that heads fulfil two distinct roles:

'The secondary school head is the chief executive of a professionally staffed organisation and may also be regarded as the leading professional of that organisation'.

(Hughes 1975 p301)

In relation to the present discussion, the notion of the 'leading professional' is a useful one, since Hughes has identified this concept as having two dimensions:

- (i) a traditional dimension, which is related to the regular teaching commitments of headteachers, and their pastoral relationships with staff and pupils,
- (ii) an innovating dimension, which is an indicator of the head's openness to external professional influences.

Furthermore, Hughes (1975) has demonstrated that while these two dimensions are largely independent of one another, the degree to which they are apparent in the professional work of headteachers, gives rise to four distinct styles. The characteristics of these headteacher styles are important, since they provide another set of parameters against which to analyse the reactions of those headteachers involved with TVEI.

Category	traditional dimension	innovating dimension
(a) The Abdicator	low	low
(b) The Traditionalist	high	low
(c) The Innovator	low	high
(d) The Extended Professional	high	high

Whereas 'Extended Professionals' will be both highly involved in the day-to-day activities of their schools, and in the importing of new ideas and developments from outside their institutions, 'Abdicators' will resist introducing changes from outside and will not get involved in daily routines. While 'Traditionalists' will resist changes emanating from outside their schools, they will become involved in day-to-day events. 'Innovators' will see their major role as bringing new ideas into their schools, and they will be less involved in the day-to-day affairs of their institutions.

A number of issues arise from a further consideration of this typology:

- heads could respond in different ways at different times in their headship, due to their changing perceptions of the needs of their schools,
- their role would be conditioned by the nature of their senior management teams and the ability of these teams to share in the headteacher's tasks,
- some innovations are likely to appeal more to some heads than others - innovations linked to classroom practice might be expected to appeal more to the the 'Traditionalist' head than would changes in management information systems (MIS), for instance.

None-the-less, despite these reservations, the typology will be used in the next Chapter to consider the reactions of the headteachers in one TVEI project. One hypothesis that will be considered again at that stage is that, although TVEI might initially have been more easily accepted into a school with an 'Innovator' head, when TVEI became more associated with classroom issues, the Initiative would then have become more acceptable to a 'Traditionalist' head.

A further conclusion that Hughes reached, was that the 'Extended Professional' head was more likely to be found in a large school than in a small one, and hence it might be anticipated that TVEI would have been more readily adopted into a large organisation than a small one.

This will also be considered later, by analysing the situation in an LEA with a range of different sized schools involved in TVEI.

iii) Headteachers' Resistance to the Implementation of TVEI.

When considering change, it is all too easy to create a vision of the participants going along with the initiative with little obvious objection since, in the case of an innovation which has the support of the LEA, those who are most in favour will probably tend to articulate their feelings most strongly. In reality, there will be many who oppose the change sufficiently to attempt to prevent its occurrence, although these will not necessarily demonstrate their feelings in a totally overt manner. For headteachers, in particular, this is not always an easy thing to do. There could be pressure from the LEA, and from some teaching staff as well, to undertake new initiatives (The high risk-takers), while parents and governors might be more likely to be conservative about making changes, and would look to the head to innovate only when the results were likely to be successful and to unquestionably improve the quality of the education of the children (The low risk-takers). It is possible, therefore, to envisage headteachers having to steer a pathway between the high risk-takers on the one hand and the low risk-takers on the other, and having to do this against their own attitudes and beliefs, and their capabilities as managers for dealing with the outcomes of their decisions.

Headteachers would have had their own specific reasons for seeking change, eg personal ambition, educational vision, pragmatic management needs, and as a result, a number of the heads involved with the

projects being considered in this thesis did enter upon TVEI with considerable enthusiasm and determination. Others, however, were willing to merely acquiesce to outside influences. Some headteachers were found to resist the introduction of TVEI in various ways; the approaches which were used to achieve this, tended to mirror those found by Sikes and Taylor (1987) during their research:

(a) Public non co-operation.

(i) 'Abdication',

In this case heads gave the responsibility for TVEI to someone else, and then withdrew from public involvement with the scheme as much as possible.

(ii) 'Working to Rule',

Heads did what was required of them, but made explicit their lack of commitment to the scheme.

(iii) 'Filibustering',

Heads in this category maintained a positive public view of TVEI, but found as many ways as possible of objecting to developments.

(b) Non-public non co-operation.

(i) 'Delegation',

Heads relegated TVEI to the lower priorities of the school.

(ii) 'Heeldragging',

In this case heads ensured that administrative returns were slow to be completed, letting urgent decisions wait until later.

The attitudes shown towards TVEI by headteachers interviewed during this research were very much in line with the categories listed above. However, these attitudes were not always consistently held, and were not necessarily constant with time or with changing circumstances. In addition to those strategies for resisting TVEI listed above, it was found that the ways in which headteachers decided to support innovation, for instance by amending structures in their schools, was vital. If the head, for instance, refused to co-operate over such features as:

- modifications to the option choice programme,
- timetabling patterns,
- extra non-contact time for staff,
- time for meetings, both in and out of school,
- marketing of TVEI to parents and pupils,
- accommodation,
- time and facilities for profiling,
- acceptance of active learning,
- residential visits,

then the potential for the success of the innovation was diminished, since the opportunities for staff and pupils to operate effectively were reduced.

iv) Influences of TVEI on Headteacher attitudes.

It has already been shown that heads entered into TVEI for their own specific reasons. Sometimes they entered voluntarily, in other cases there was a degree of coercion, either from the LEA, or from their

staff, or from both. Sikes (1986) has described three main attractions of TVEI for headteachers to enter voluntarily:

- 1) The money and resources,
- 2) Career opportunities, for both the heads and their teaching staffs,
- 3) Attraction of students into the school.

Other features which tended to influence headteachers' reactions to TVEI included:

- The changes in Government attitudes to education which occurred simultaneously with the Initiative. These have included greater parental choice of schools, proposals concerning the 'opting out' of schools and the increased powers of governors (particularly those representing the local community and parents). These changes, together with a falling rolls situation in many schools, tended to make Headteachers wary about becoming too involved in situations which involved risks to their schools' reputations. Parents and governors tend in general to be low risk takers, and the situation produced by some of the Government policies on education made many headteachers incline this way too.
- The situation caused by falling rolls. This tended to encourage greater competition between the schools in an area, which resulted in headteachers having to compete with one another for pupil numbers. While a school which is successfully innovating presents an obvious attraction to parents, it is the success the school

achieves that is probably more important to them than the nature of the innovation taking place. Heads were often wary about becoming too involved with TVEI, which was not only a high risk situation involving experimental change, but a controversial educational issue.

Where headteachers did become involved with TVEI, they tended, according to Harland (1986), to maintain control over the Initiative either personally or through their senior management teams. They therefore maintained their gate-keeper position and took a stance between the high and the low risk-takers. They possibly believed that, in this way, they could more effectively act as a buffer against the potentially radical outcomes of a rapidly 'enforced' change. However, Sikes (1986) has argued that, although heads and their management approach can influence TVEI, TVEI also has implications for their role and power. Some heads reported that they felt TVEI was taking over from their capability to run their schools as they wished, and that outside agencies, including the LEA, were making bids for increased control. Despite all the reasons for why headteachers might not have wanted to become involved with TVEI, the pressures from an LEA, together with the influence of substantial extra resources, and the possibility of being in the 'forefront of change', tended to encourage heads to apply for TVEI funding, or willingly to accept their LEA's offer to become a TVEI School. Headteachers then had to accept many of the impositions and constraints placed upon them by the MSC.

The attitudes of most headteachers towards TVEI, in the schools which form the basis of this research, changed during the course of the pilot projects. For some, their earlier concerns were proved unfounded, while for others, their initial optimism became reversed. The effects that TVEI was seen by heads to be having on their staff and pupils was, however, a clear factor in deciding whether their attitudes towards TVEI hardened or not, and whether their initial stance was modified in any way. Whether or not TVEI eventually became adopted in a school depended on the will of the headteacher to keep the momentum of the Initiative going, for even the most ardent supporters of TVEI in a school staff-room would be hard-pressed to maintain their position in the face of a headteacher who had become convinced about the inefficacy of the scheme. Without the active support of the senior management group led by the head, teachers were likely to find the TVEI innovation blocked or discontinued by other staff (Armstrong et al 1989). Thus in terms of change agency, the need to convince the headteachers involved of the value of the changes produced by TVEI, was essential. This will be an issue which is considered further in the next Chapter, both in terms of how pilot projects attempted to win support from their headteachers, and whether or not they were successful in this.

b) THE TVEI INSTITUTION CO-ORDINATOR.

With the advent of TVEI, another institutional change agent was created: The TVEI institution co-ordinator. Bell (1987) has argued that the implementation of TVEI required schools to adopt a new approach to managing the curriculum, and meant that a new role, the school TVEI co-ordinator, was developed. He also argued that the

resolution of the internal conflicts which existed in the school, as a result of TVEI, largely occurred through the incumbents of these newly created posts. McCabe (1986) has pointed out that the responsibility for seeing that the actual TVEI project was effective within the school, fell upon the school co-ordinator. In this sense, therefore, it might have been anticipated that the school co-ordinators would have had an evaluative role within their institutions; however, Bell (1987) has determined, through his discussions with school co-ordinators, that they recognised a need for substantial training in this task.

The co-ordinator post was one which the MSC required in every TVEI institution. However, although this was a stated requirement, the ways in which these posts were filled, and the manner in which the incumbents operated, were left to the discretion of individual projects. The outcome of this has meant that expectations about the roles of institution co-ordinators have varied considerably between LEAs, and between institutions. Both Bell (1986) and McCabe (1986) have argued, however, that the TVEI institution co-ordinator was a 'key post'. For instance, McCabe believes that there was general agreement that, in many Authorities, school co-ordinators were the critical conductors of the project in their schools.

The ability of the school co-ordinators to be 'key persons', however, depended on the way in which the position was envisaged by the projects concerned, and on the freedom of action allowed to them by their headteachers and principals. When examining the roles and work of different school co-ordinators in different projects, it was clear that

there were indeed very different expectations. Different roles were being undertaken, and different status positions held, and while these depended to some extent on the LEA, they were even more conditioned by the ethos within the co-ordinator's own school or college.

When describing one TVEI Project in the West Midlands, Bell (1986) commented that the school co-ordinators in that LEA had a direct line management to the TVEI project co-ordinator, as well as to the headteachers of the schools concerned. This, it was argued, gave them increased status, since they were directly working to the project, and also had some degree of autonomy within their own institutions. However, the dual management structure, which Bell has described, did not seem to be a common one. In most cases the institution co-ordinators were appointed by the schools and were directly responsible only to the head of their institution. In this apparently more common situation, the role of the school co-ordinators was then much more conditional upon the framework that the school allowed them to work in. Although this framework was moulded, to some extent, by the requirements of the TVEI project co-ordinator, the degree of refinement of the role was dependent upon the relationship which existed between the institutional head and the project co-ordinator. This point is taken up in more detail later in Chapter 5, but in those cases where heads had been allowed considerable autonomy, by their project co-ordinator, over the way in which they were able to control their own TVEI schemes, they were also able to take considerable control over the way in which their school co-ordinators functioned. Bell (1986) has argued that there was a certain dynamic associated with the creation of

the role of TVEI school co-ordinator which existed over and above the initial LEA submission to the TVEI Unit of the MSC. This dynamic was associated with the ways in which the LEA, the project co-ordinator and the headteachers saw the TVEI project operating.

The reasons for appointing people to school co-ordinator posts varied considerably. Young (1986), when considering the way in which TVEI had influenced change in schools, described the importance attached by many headteachers to the appointment of co-ordinators who would be influential in bringing about changes of teacher attitudes through the creation of good working relationships. In this way, a prerequisite for some heads, when appointing their co-ordinators, was for a member of staff who could function as a change agent. However, it was also the case in some schools that co-ordinators were appointed for very different reasons. In Chapter 6, the roles undertaken by the institution co-ordinators in one LEA will be discussed in detail. However, it was the case that co-ordinator roles did vary considerably.

The role of the institution co-ordinator was generally ill-defined since it was new. The roles which co-ordinators filled in the three projects being considered in this research, varied considerably, and were the result of the perceptions of their headteachers, and possibly also of the project co-ordinators. However, school co-ordinators were found to undertake such roles as:

- administrator,
- pupil counsellor,
- curriculum developer,

- TVEI adviser,
- leader of a teaching team,
- evaluator.

In addition, however, many other functions were also fulfilled, often on an ad hoc basis. McCabe (1986) has argued that the co-ordinator's tasks can include elements of: organising and persuading colleagues; presenting courses and programmes to students; monitoring the progress and balance of programmes; ordering and distributing materials and resources; checking on accommodation; arranging various in-service events; completing necessary forms and summaries; interviewing and being generally available to students; looking after visitors; and taking a high degree of responsibility for future planning.

The roles that co-ordinators might have filled, therefore, had a considerable scope in terms of school management issues. While those co-ordinators, who had been appointed as deputy headteachers, were able to carry out many of these tasks as part of their normal duties, for co-ordinators who were not deputy heads, there could have been, and often was, a conflict with the roles undertaken by the school's deputy heads. Even in those cases where TVEI was seen as a discrete entity (an 'Enclave', Saunders 1986b), there was often considerable overlap in many areas, eg guidance and counselling; staff development programmes; presenting the school to visitors, and this situation was seen to give rise to tensions between co-ordinators and other staff with somewhat similar, but non TVEI-specific responsibilities. For instance, Lines

and Stoney (1989) found that overlap in areas of responsibility could have given rise to tensions between co-ordinators and deputy heads.

How TVEI Institution Co-ordinators functioned.

In many cases, because the TVEI institution co-ordinators were at the forefront of the introduction of a new and highly funded initiative, they accrued considerable status through the knowledge that they possessed and the resources they managed. Handy (1979), for instance, has argued that power resides where technical knowledge and relevant information are to be found. In addition, co-ordinators were often the custodians of their schools' TVEI allowances, and hence were influential in promoting change through their financial capabilities. Lloyd (1985) has considered the strong position co-ordinators were in as a result of their capability to effect change through their control of the resource allocation. However, it was found in this research that not all co-ordinators were able to operate with this degree of influence (see Chapter 6), and for them, conflict situations were more common.

Co-ordinators were also in a position where they could work closely with LEA and MSC staff, and they found themselves having 'insider knowledge' from which they were able to gain considerable influence. However, as discussed earlier, TVEI was an initiative, imposed from outside the institution, which created many tensions for those within, and the co-ordinators had, as far as possible, to overcome these. Many of the changes which TVEI was encouraging were potentially destabilising to institutions. For instance, tensions arose as a

result of the vested interests of the various groups and individuals involved, and the co-ordinators needed to minimise the apparent disadvantages of the scheme for these people. The capability of co-ordinators to facilitate change against this background, came from their own personal qualities and skills, and from the ways in which they were able to manipulate the various power and authority structures that have been discussed earlier in this Chapter. In addition, the support provided by their project co-ordinators was essential to the effective functioning of the institution co-ordinators.

Institution co-ordinators also tended to become members of networks of local TVEI co-ordinators within their own projects. This too assisted them in attaining status, since such organisations frequently gained a considerable group identity (Bell 1986). However, the fact that co-ordinators were seen by some staff as representing interests external to their own institutions, and perhaps acting as agents for the introduction of outside ideas, was sometimes counter-productive. For instance, McCabe (1986) considered that some co-ordinators could be seen as imposing on a school, so that it conformed with some exterior structure or set of principles. This situation was particularly fraught where the school staff had not been part of the initial negotiation processes for the introduction of TVEI into their institution, and where, as a result, there was a feeling of inadequate consultation. The difficulties for school co-ordinators might also have been exacerbated by the fact that many of them were not entirely convinced themselves of the value of TVEI. They had taken on the role for a variety of reasons, such as: personal advancement, extra

remuneration and additional challenges, but when confronted by the reality of the Initiative, some reacted negatively, and as far as possible attempted to maintain the status quo position.

c) OTHER GROUPS PROMOTING CHANGE AT THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL.

Two other groups of people seemed to be particularly effective in encouraging change at the institutional level:

- (1) TVEI became increasingly seen by many teachers as a 'liberating influence' (Jackson 1984, Pring 1988) since, for them, it allowed and encouraged changes to occur in their classroom practices. The first group of teachers to be 'liberated' in this way were those involved in curriculum areas which received initial support from TVEI, eg craft, design and technology, electronics and business studies. Teachers in these areas suddenly found themselves with vastly enhanced practical resources and increased support from the LEA through advisory teachers and curriculum development groups. While not all practitioners rushed to accept these extra facilities, those that did frequently became strong and vociferous advocates for TVEI, since they often found that the scheme allowed them to develop their work in ways that they had wanted to but, for a variety of reasons, had not been able. In some cases, TVEI was a threat to practitioners since it was encouraging changes which some did not want. For instance, the introduction of design technology was not acceptable to all woodwork and metalwork teachers. However, since an increasing number of teachers came

to welcome the introduction of TVEI, this meant that within school staff rooms groups of advocates for the Initiative started to appear. Eventually TVEI began to affect the work of other teachers too, eg by influencing teaching and learning styles more, and this allowed the support and INSET opportunities provided by TVEI to become available to many others. As a consequence, different teachers became supporters for the scheme, and the presence of these individuals in a school was a help to co-ordinators when they were seeking to enlist support for change from senior management teams.

- (11) Another group who had an influence on the ways in which TVEI was accepted in schools were the students themselves. This research has demonstrated (Hodge 1987b,f,h,j) that many students enjoyed the more experiential and participatory aspects of TVEI (eg work experience and Active Learning), and the reactions which they subsequently demonstrated to parents and teachers sometimes encouraged changes to be generated in other areas. One of the unfortunate consequences of this situation, however, was that since disaffected pupils were the ones who often reacted most positively to the approaches used in TVEI, the Initiative was seized upon as a way of dealing with this particular group of pupils, and as a means of providing them with an alternative curriculum. However, in those schools where TVEI 'subjects' were offered as options in the Fourth Year (Year 10), the increased numbers wishing to take these subjects was often seen

as a measure of support for the way the Initiative was developing, and acted as a spur to further changes taking place.

The management of change within TVEI was, therefore, a complex matter. It relied on the interactions of a large number of groups and individuals who brought with them different ideological views about the Initiative. The attractiveness of the funding encouraged some people to become involved in TVEI, who might otherwise not have. This meant that the ways in which changes were introduced were dependent upon the real intentions of those managing the changes, as well as on the structures put in place by the MSC and the LEAs. This influenced the strategies that were used to introduce the Initiative into schools. These will be considered further in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER 5. CHANGE STRATEGIES IN TVEI.

5.1 CHANGE STRATEGIES.

It was shown in Chapter 3 that change is a complex issue. A discussion of the work of Bolam (1975), Havelock (1969), Hull (1973), Dalin (1973), Hoyle (1976) and Guba and Clarke (1965) illustrated that change can occur at different rates, affect different parts of the system and produce varying outcomes. Fullan (1972) considered the social features of change. At the most simplistic level, the strategies which can be used to implement change are either 'to tell' or 'to ask' individuals or groups to do something different. However, both of these approaches will depend upon the nature of:

- (i) the authority of the person or institution seeking the change,
- (ii) the relationship between this person or institution and those who are being expected to innovate,
- (iii) the actual or potential gain for the person making the change.

Changes could come about through teachers being told to do something, if there were a high degree of trust and mutual respect between the teachers concerned and the person giving the instruction. However, if this were not the case, the teachers would be more likely to refuse. Authority can be seen to relate to the status of the individuals encouraging the change, this status being derived from their legal position, and/or from the esteem in which they are held. The success of any change strategy will depend on a number of factors:

- (1) The perceived need for the change among the User system.

Fig. 5.1.

CHANGE STRATEGIES

[After Chin (1967) and Etzioni (1961)]

Power - Coercive.

- uses legal authority,
- a directive approach,
- one-way communication only.

Normative / Re-educative.

- attempts to change attitudes,
- uses persuasion and influence,
- involve two-way communication,
- relationship between change-agent and user essential.

Rational - Empirical.

- suggests new ideas,
- appeals to the individual's reason,
- one-way communication only,
- a perceived need for change is essential.

- (ii) whether the change was seen as improving on existing practice,
- (iii) the relationship between the change agent and the User system.

When considering the approaches that were used by the participants in TVEI to bring about change, it is important to examine some of the various change strategies that have been discussed in the literature. One of the most well known typologies of this kind is that produced by Chin (1967) and Etzioni (1961) which considers three principal types of approach: Power-coercive; Normative/re-educative; Rational-empirical (Figure 5.1).

Other Authors have produced similar typologies of change strategies:

Jones G (1969); Coercive, Normative, Utilitarian.

Miles (1961); Power-solution, Relationship-attitude, Problem-process.

Walton (1965); Power, Love-trust, Problem solving.

Hoyle (1970) considers that the attempts to produce a working typology of change strategies has resulted in a high degree of consensus, and for the purposes of this research, therefore, the classification produced by Chin will be used as a basis for further analysis.

Bolam (1975) argues that, although these categories of change strategies are too arbitrary and probably rarely exist in pure form, they are none-the-less useful for the purposes of analysis. In

practice, these different strategies will often be found being used together, or will be used to support one another at different stages of the innovation. For instance, Bolam considers that educational innovations frequently require changes in both curriculum and organisation and as a result, innovators frequently use both power-coercive and rational-empirical strategies. At the national level, change has generally been produced by power-coercive means, but this has usually been followed by rational-empirical strategies for dissemination and training. Bolam also considers that the normative/re-educative strategy has rarely been used by itself, since the problems of changing attitudes and relationships have been underestimated, and Whiteside (1978) relates the Chin and Etzioni change strategies to the relationships between participants and to their relative status. Dalin (1974) has argued that the power-coercive strategy is different from the other two, in that it more openly exposes the differences in ideology between the Innovation and the User system which, as a result, can increase the tension between the two systems. This was a feature commonly found within TVEI, particularly during the early stages. Hoyle (1970) has considered that at the school level a modified form of the power-coercive change system can be found, which he terms **administrative change**. This he relates to the ambivalent position of the headteacher; on the one hand the head is a highly influential figure in his school, but on the other he has insufficient power to ensure that change occurs. Hoyle has argued that in this sort of situation it is the head's administrative control that allows him to bring about change, ie through the deployment of his staff, the use of appropriate timetabling strategies and the

allocation of resources. Dalin (1973) has also termed the power-coercive strategy, the political/administrative model, in order to highlight the use of administrative structures to pursue political goals, and hence to bring about changes in the system.

In many respects, TVEI cannot be seen to fit totally with any of these three strategies. Although aspects of all three could be distinguished within the Initiative, the starting point for TVEI was the attraction of the considerable funding available to the LEAs, which appealed to their desire for additional resources. It was difficult for them to refuse this incentive, and hence TVEI was financially-coercive. Once the contract had been signed, the MSC had a legal authority over the LEAs and the change then became power-coercive as well as financially-coercive. As a result, LEAs had to change at least some of their management approaches in order to meet the demands of the MSC.

5.2 THE ANNUAL REVIEW / PLANNING DIALOGUE.

One particularly important strand used by the MSC to monitor developments was 'The Annual Review' (referred to as 'The Planning Dialogue' in the early years of TVEI). There was a clear obligation on the part of the Authority to attend these meetings, and those present usually included senior officers of the LEA, staff from the TVEI Unit in London, and local evaluators.

Annual Reviews were primarily intended to consider the progress which had been made during the previous academic year, and a TVEI project was expected to produce an Annual Report of the previous year's

developments in preparation for the Annual Review. When the Initiative started in the early 1980s, however, these annual events seemed to be viewed by the MSC as more than just opportunities for monitoring the progress being made by the projects, for they were also used as occasions when an MSC style of management could be imposed on the proceedings of Local Authorities.

Annual Reviews were chaired by TVEI officers, and the agendas for the meetings were produced jointly between the LEA's TVEI project co-ordinator and the attached Regional Adviser from the TVEI Unit, usually at a pre-meeting. The pre-meetings were often opportunities for Regional Advisers to promote some of the latest thinking about TVEI to emerge from the central unit, and to ensure that specific issues were actually placed on the agenda for the Review. Although agendas for Annual Reviews differed between projects, they usually had as common themes:

- the progress made during the previous year,
- how well the outcomes of the previous Annual Review had been adhered to,
- setting targets for action in the coming year.

For example, the letter from the MSC to the Director of Education for Coventry in connection with the 1987 Annual Review of TVEI contained the paragraph:

'The Annual Review forms a vital part of the TVEI planning cycle and is seen as a significant mechanism for driving forward progress in the project. The objectives of the exercise are to review progress over the year against the aims and criteria of TVEI and identify

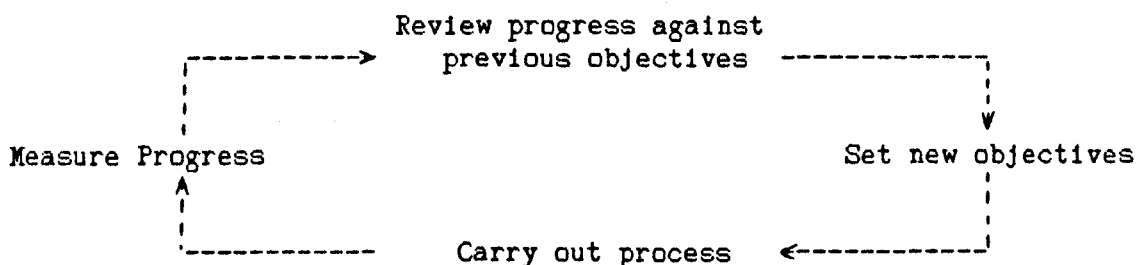
areas for development, dissemination etc and agree a schedule of action points for the coming year.'

(MSC 1987b)

It was quite obvious that considerable similarities did, in fact, exist between the Annual Reviews held in the different projects in any one year, and that the MSC was interested not only in finding out more about what was happening in its projects, but also in providing indicators to the LEAs about the future direction that their schemes should be moving in. These indicators were uniformly consistent and clearly reflected the central TVEI Unit thinking that was current at the time. Reference has already been made to the coercive management style adopted by MSC in relation to its TVEI projects, and Annual Reviews tended, at least in the early years, to reflect this particular approach.

(1) Management through Dialogue.

Annual Reviews, therefore, could be interpreted as part of the management strategy introduced by the MSC for its TVEI projects. The particular approach which appears to have been uppermost in that strategy was one which has been referred to as **Management by Objectives (MBO)** (Reddin 1971).



This model is a cyclical mechanism, based upon the systems approach to management, in which the participants accept that the outcomes of a project can be improved by regular review of the processes involved, and by the setting of short-term objectives which can then be monitored in order to achieve greater success in the long-term. The model appears to rely heavily on two principal features:

- the authority of the managers to set objectives in such a way that the participants feel obliged to deliver them, and
- the ability of the managers to measure the progress that is made in such a way that they are confident that they have a true picture of how far the objectives are being met.

There was little problem in relation to TVEI over the first of these features, since the contractual arrangements which had been made, and the substantial funding available, meant that LEAs could be largely coerced into accepting imposed objectives. However, there was far more doubt over the ability of the MSC to deliver the second of these features. Evaluation systems for TVEI were not usually able to provide a complete picture of what was happening. As a result, there was considerable uncertainty about how much information the MSC was able to derive for itself about the progress that individual LEAs had made, and how much it had to rely upon the LEAs. Quite clearly the authority of the MSC could have been substantially reduced if LEAs thought that the Commission was not really aware of their shortcomings.

5.3 THE MANAGEMENT OF TVEI.

As a result of the work that he carried out in a range of LEAs and institutions, Beattie (1985) has identified a number of models which appear to categorise the approaches used in the local management of TVEI. The models which have been identified by Beattie, for the management of TVEI, relate to how some LEAs attempted to introduce the scheme into their institutions, and reflect, to a large extent, the attitudes of the LEAs concerned to the management of innovation. Although TVEI projects were generally set up as discrete units, the management approaches that they adopted tended, at least initially, to be congruent with those of the parent LEA, and hence they reinforced the historic relationships which existed between an Education Department and its schools and colleges. Beattie's models represent ideal types, and in practice some overlap and blurring of the edges was inevitable, but since they represent styles actually operating in a number of LEAs, they provide a useful structure against which to analyse the particular projects being studied in this thesis.

The three models proposed by Beattie represent the different degrees of control which he found operating over TVEI at the local level. At the one end of the spectrum, the **Centre-periphery** model gives almost total control of the Initiative to the LEA, at the other end, the **Relative Autonomy** model gives the major control to the institutions. In the **Consortium** model the LEA created an interacting group of institutions over which it maintained a controlling brief. Although each institution had a reasonable degree of freedom, the developments were shared with one other. Each of these models appeared to have certain

advantages and disadvantages for the institutions, the LEA and the MSC in terms of how TVEI might have developed; these will now be considered.

1) The Centre/periphery Model

Beattie's Centre/Periphery model illustrates a form of imposed centralised control by an LEA over its TVEI scheme. In this model, little delegation of authority to the institutions occurred, and the LEA regarded the ownership of TVEI as being very much its own. The project co-ordinators were provided with the power to use TVEI funding as they saw necessary for the best development of TVEI in the area, and resources were often centrally held and loaned to institutions as required, or even kept in a central building to which institutions sent their pupils for specific parts of their programme. This building might have been staffed solely by central TVEI personnel.

The main problems, for those LEAs using this model, were:

- (1) the inability of the LEAs to introduce sustained change into their institutions. Teachers were generally able to gain little ownership over the developments taking place, since they were not closely involved with the work of the TVEI project. They seemed to feel that any responsibility they had for the learning that their pupils achieved was taken away and handed to the central team.

(11) the model often led to TVEI becoming an addition to the child's school experience. It was viable only while the funding existed to maintain the central structure, although it was cost effective and did produce changes for pupils.

(111) the model is weak on dissemination, since it was not necessary for the innovations occurring to be made known to the individual institutions. It was also weak on collaborative development, since it was not essential for institutions to work together to produce change.

This was a model for local management which did not seem to readily satisfy the TVEI criteria laid down by the MSC. It was unlikely, therefore, to receive the total approval of the TVEI Unit.

11) The Consortium Model.

Within the Consortium model of TVEI management, the ideal proposed by the MSC for collaborative development was met, since uniform structures existed to allow the staff in the TVEI schools to share ideas and to meet together to produce results. In some projects a timetable matrix was produced, which allowed pupils to move between schools and colleges so that individual institutions could develop specific aspects of the scheme which could then be shared by all the institutions. It was also sometimes possible for staff to move between schools so that expertise was shared. This strategy was one which could produce considerable ownership of development for teachers, and was easily managed and was cost effective.

The main problems were:

- (1) the consortium group itself could become somewhat isolated from the remainder of the Authority's institutions.
- (11) dissemination, which was good between members of the consortium, became more difficult outside.
- (111) the consortium might have been viewed by some other schools and colleges as unfairly advantaged, and to have been in a position, which was encouraged by the LEA, of developing at the expense of other schools. This could have applied, for instance, to the resources which the TVEI institutions had access to by virtue of the extra funding, and also to the staff development which took place, aided and supported by the LEA.

This mode of operation, however, was capable of producing changes in line with the TVEI criteria and hence was more likely to receive the support of the MSC.

The types of consortia which were created in LEAs (NFER 1989) were found to be:

- (1) those in which a number of schools were linked with a college of Further Education,
- (11) those in which a network (or networks) of schools was created,

- (iii) those in which a group of schools was linked to a central TVEI base in the Authority.

In the case of two of the projects being considered in this thesis (both Shire Counties), a number of area-based consortia were set up following the introduction of the Extension phase of TVEI. The complexities of attempting to manage considerable numbers of institutions in wide-spread geographical areas were obvious features that suggested the introduction of a management style of this sort.

Although consortia of institutions were created in 93% of TVEI projects (NFER 1989), this did not mean that they actually operated in the way that Beattie has described. In fact, a number of consortia were found to operate within the centre/periphery and relative-autonomy modes, which tended to reduce the benefits that consortium working might have provided.

iii) The Relative Autonomy Model.

The Relative autonomy model arguably allowed an institution to take charge of its own developments, which should have permitted changes to occur in line with the perceived needs of the institution, and of its staff and pupils. There could have been good ownership of developments by staff. However, the model would appear to have suffered from two serious drawbacks:

- 1) the institution itself was not always in a position to bring about or accept change, since at this level change itself would

have depended on the organisational health of the establishment (Hoyle 1978). The climate would, to a large extent, have controlled innovation, since this would have influenced staff attitudes and relationships. In order for some changes to occur, staff development was necessary, and this necessitated the institution being able to identify its own needs, albeit with some support from the LEA if required. An implicit problem was that developments which occurred were conditional on the particular institution, which led to an uneven pattern of development being produced that was not conducive to the fulfilment of the actual TVEI criteria, and was unacceptable to the MSC. This would have had implications for the way in which the LEA was able to account to the MSC.

- 11) the LEA was not in a position to manage or control the changes that were occurring, so that individual institutions could well have been developing in idiosyncratic ways.

This model did not allow for ready collaboration or dissemination of developments, therefore, and was not a management system that was likely to appeal to the MSC.

From an MSC point of view, the ideal management style for TVEI might have been seen as encompassing a consortium approach, with elements of either the centre/periphery style or relative autonomy style linked into it, since this would then have enabled the benefits of the consortium approach to become apparent, but would also have minimised

the deficiencies inherent in this particular model. The ways in which TVEI actually developed within pilot projects has been found to depend on the particular approach of the LEA concerned, while the management style which was utilised, has tended to reflect already existing dispositions. The MSC did not usually become involved in attempts to change management styles in projects, although, as already illustrated in this Chapter, at the Annual Reviews between the MSC and the LEAs there was an emphasis placed on the need to develop consortium type arrangements.

A similar typology, to that produced by Beattie, has been proposed by Barnes et al (1987) in relation to the management of TVEI by LEAs:

(i) Central Control.

In which the LEA sets up a structure which gives schools the task of carrying out decisions made elsewhere.

(ii) Collaborative Control.

In which the LEA uses its powers to set up structures which encourage groups of teachers from different schools to meet together to take responsibility for instituting changes.

(iii) Diffused Control.

In which the LEA effectively delegates power to the individual schools taking part.

This typology has no particular advantages over Beattie's model, and can, in fact, be seen as limiting the nature of the management process to a single component: control. During the course of this thesis, therefore, Beattie's model will be used as a framework for analysis.

The three models relating to LEA/institutional management/control systems are, by themselves, too simplistic to fully describe the interactions taking place. They ignore the effect of the funding-coercive nature of TVEI, the links with the MSC and, in particular, the roles undertaken by the TVEI project co-ordinators.

5.4 THE PROJECT CO-ORDINATOR ROLE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF TVEI.

It was argued in the previous Chapter that the key person in bringing about the development of TVEI at the LEA level was the project co-ordinator. Beattie (1985) has identified three possible ways in which this individual might have operated: a Competing Head; a Manager; an Adviser.

During this research, the ways in which some TVEI co-ordinators carried out their tasks have been examined (Chapters 6 & 7), and the findings set against the basic models suggested by Beattie. As a result some refinements to the earlier structures have been suggested, and two further models of the ways in which co-ordinators might operate will be proposed: a Chief Executive; an Inspector/Evaluator (see Figure 5.2).

Fig 5.2.

TVEI CO-ORDINATOR ROLES

(With additions to Beattie 1985)

(i) **Competing Head**

- takes control over the innovation at institutional level,
- deals with every detail.

(ii) **Manager**

- non-expert role,
- leaves details to school co-ordinators,
- motivates,
- demonstrates aims of project to individuals,
- facilitates.

(iii) **Adviser**

- works with schools, but as non-directive supervisor,
- assists,
- persuades.

(iv) **Chief Executive**

- controls policy making,
- delegates day-to-day decision making,
- leaves management of details to subordinates,
- deals only with other executives.

(v) **Inspector/Evaluator**

- concerned with quality control,
- demands adherence to TVEI criteria and aims,
- sets up detailed evaluation structures,
- uses evaluation outcomes for accountability purposes.

The different management models will be considered in outline in this section, and will then be elaborated upon further in Chapter 8, following an analysis of the roles undertaken by the co-ordinators in a number of TVEI projects,

1) The Competing Head Co-ordinator.

Beattie considers that **Competing Head Co-ordinators** were likely to have become involved in every detail of the project at the institutional level. They would probably have been unwilling or unable to delegate responsibility for TVEI adequately to the institutions concerned and hence would have taken control over every aspect of this part of the work of the school. In this way they were likely to begin competing with the headteachers and hence to have created possible areas of friction between the heads and themselves.

11) The Manager Co-ordinator.

The **Manager** role was most likely to have been undertaken by co-ordinators who saw themselves as non-experts in the specific developments taking place, and who preferred to develop the more generalised management tasks. They were likely:

- to facilitate change,
- to create possibilities for others to innovate by, for instance, creating time for them to carry out this process,
- to motivate staff who were working hard in order to give them a sense of achievement,
- to provide general structures in which staff could work, and

- to have been constantly reinforcing the purposes behind TVEI, in order to gain as many converts as possible.

iii) The Adviser Co-ordinator.

Adviser Co-ordinators would be likely to adopt an expert role. They would probably be found working with practitioners both in classrooms and in development groups in order to create individual and group changes. They would have been involved in monitoring and supervising change, and would have attempted to fine-tune the project as necessary by redistributing funds to those aspects which they perceived as being in special need of support.

The two other models, that are being proposed to explain the ways in which co-ordinators operated, are:

(i) The Chief Executive Co-ordinator.

Co-ordinators operating in this way would be concerned almost entirely with deciding policy issues for the project and working with other senior executives of the LEA and the MSC. Such people would be synonymous in style with the Chief Education Officer, in that they would decide on the particular form of action (usually in agreement with the Steering Group for the project), and would then delegate the actual implementation of the scheme to others. While the co-ordinators would expect to be kept informed of the general ways in which the project was being developed they would delegate the day-to-day running of the scheme to their subordinates. A particular problem with this style, was that the approach to TVEI

could become heavily bureaucratic. It was a model that seemed to appeal to the MSC's TVEI Unit, since it had clear similarities with the ways in which that unit itself operated.

(11) The Inspector/Evaluator Co-ordinator.

Unlike the 'Chief Executive' model, the 'Inspector/evaluators' would not have left the implementation of TVEI to their subordinates. Instead they would spend a great deal of time inspecting (probably in a fairly formal sense) what was happening in the project and then, having evaluated the results, instructing their subordinates to introduce changes which would bring about necessary modifications in the system. Such co-ordinators would set up rigorous evaluation structures for their projects, including the use of Performance Indicators. Institutions would be expected to contribute to the evaluation and to be prepared to defend their positions in the light of the outcomes. Such co-ordinators would have been concerned with the accountability issues involved in setting up TVEI schemes, ie the effective and efficient uses of the resources, compliance with the stated criteria and the achievement of the anticipated goals.

These two additional models complete a spectrum of possible co-ordinator styles which is related to the stance the co-ordinator adopted apropos the LEA and its institutions. As pointed out earlier, none of these models was necessarily to be found in an ideal form among TVEI project co-ordinators, although it was likely that all co-ordinators tended to approximate more towards one mode of operation

than another. The particular roles adopted by co-ordinators have been found, during this research, to depend upon:

- their own personality,
- the nature of the LEA,
- the way in which the LEA related to its institutions, and
- the climate in which the co-ordinators were allowed to operate.

In turn, the role was also conditioned by the relationship between the MSC and the LEA. It has been argued that this link was largely power/coercive, and there was pressure on the co-ordinators, as indirect agents of the MSC, to deliver changes in line with the contract. This resulted in co-ordinators having to operate on a more coercive footing, so that the 'Adviser' role then tended towards that of an 'Adviser/Manager', while the 'Manager' role tended towards the 'Competing Head' model, and the 'Competing Head' towards the 'Inspector/Evaluator'. The greater the pressure placed upon co-ordinators to deliver change, the more likely was the co-ordinator role to be interventionist and directive. The management style adopted by the MSC was critical to the ways in which project co-ordinators operated.

Another feature affecting the operational mode of the co-ordinator was the size of the project. When TVEI started, most projects were small, with only some five or so institutions involved and correspondingly limited central teams; this meant that co-ordinators had to become involved in the day-to-day running of their projects and needed to work closely with the institutions. As TVEI projects became larger,

however, particularly when whole LEA schemes had been created through Extension, the nature of the work meant that the co-ordinator role often changed. Co-ordinators tended to become more executive, and some of them developed 'Inspector/evaluator' roles, particularly within LEAs that themselves were beginning to pursue more quality control based styles of operation. The interventionist role of project co-ordinators was then taken over by advisory teachers and curriculum support teams.

5.5 THE APPROACHES USED BY TVEI INSTITUTION CO-ORDINATORS.

Although the role of the institution co-ordinator was new, the approaches used tended to reflect the traditional structures of secondary schools in England and Wales. To a large extent, their approach was also guided by the hierarchical status that they had within their schools. In general, institution co-ordinators functioned either as 'Deputy Head' co-ordinators, or as 'Head of Department' co-ordinators, or as 'Administrator' co-ordinators, without necessarily implying that they held these particular appointments within their institutions.

(1) The 'Deputy Head' Co-ordinator.

'Deputy Head' co-ordinators were in a position to formulate policy with regard to TVEI in their schools, and to undertake executive decisions about matters related to the scheme, eg the expenditure of money outside agreed principles; timetabling and staff deployment management; the selection of pupils for the TVEI cohort. They also had delegated responsibility to represent their schools at meetings with the LEA, and to agree matters on behalf of their schools. The

role of these co-ordinators was to manage all aspects of the Initiative on behalf of their schools, and they had all the necessary delegated authority to do this.

(ii) The 'Head of Department' Co-ordinator.

'Head of Department' co-ordinators did not have the same degree of delegated responsibility over TVEI matters as the 'Deputy Heads'. They were able to sanction expenditure, but only within a previously agreed framework; they frequently had oversight of pupil recruitment, but had to refer organisational matters, such as timetabling, to higher authority. While these co-ordinators were able to represent their schools at meetings, they were not usually able to make decisions on behalf of their schools without first referring back to more senior managers. The major role of these co-ordinators was the management of a selected part of the school within a controlled framework.

(iii) The 'Administrator' Co-ordinator.

These co-ordinators were unable to make any important delegated decisions regarding TVEI. They were only able to work within the structure laid down. For instance, they rarely had control of any aspect of the budget, although they would probably have had oversight of the accounting procedures. The recruitment of pupils was generally the responsibility of other staff, although the co-ordinators would often have been responsible for the production of records and related matters. They had no control over the organisation of the scheme in their schools and did not usually

represent their schools at meetings with the LEA, this task being fulfilled instead by the headteachers or deputies. The major roles of these co-ordinators, therefore, were linked to communication and administrative requirements.

It has already been demonstrated that the roles that institution co-ordinators filled were determined by the views that their headteachers held about TVEI. However, these roles were none-the-less critical to the relationships which their schools had with the central TVEI Unit. It was easier for the project co-ordinator to generate change through a 'Deputy Head' co-ordinator than through an 'Administrator' co-ordinator, and the low status that some institution co-ordinators had, did sometimes lead to them being by-passed by TVEI projects when important issues were being considered; this meant that their status was further reduced.

One of the critical issues underlying the management of TVEI, therefore, was how projects utilised strategies for the management of change, which would produce innovations that actually became adopted by the institutions and practitioners involved, and how this could be achieved in as short a time as possible. The success which the co-ordinators in three different TVEI projects had in these respects will be considered in the next part of this thesis.

The last two Chapters have demonstrated the links between the changes taking place through TVEI, and the stances and roles undertaken by the prime participants, namely the MSC, the LEAs, the project co-

ordinators, the institutions and their practitioners. Different patterns of management produce different tensions, and no one model, or combination of strategies, can yet be seen as most appropriate, since successful innovation depends on a great number of factors, many of which are personal or historical in nature, and which are not readily altered. The nature of the changes taking place through TVEI depended on a large number of factors:

- (i) the contractual nature of TVEI,
- (ii) the opportunities available to participants for resources and funding,
- (iii) the relationship between the LEA and its institutions, and the approach adopted by the project co-ordinators,
- (iv) the coherence of TVEI with individual institutional plans, and the reactions of gate-keepers and change agents to this coherence (particularly those of the headteacher),
- (v) the internal management structures of institutions and the 'health' of the organisation in relation to the adoption of change.

The next two Chapters will consider the ways in which a number of TVEI projects have developed. Through a study of the evaluation work undertaken in these LEAs, the mechanisms whereby TVEI was seen to encourage innovation will be analysed against the theoretical background to change developed previously.

CHAPTER 6. THE RESPONSE OF THE POWYS LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY TO TVEI.

6.1 AN EVALUATION FRAMEWORK.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Education Department of the University of Warwick obtained the contracts for the evaluation of five TVEI projects: Coventry, Powys, Solihull, Walsall and Warwickshire. The three TVEI projects, on which this research is based, were all Round 2 schemes, ie they started the Initiative in 1984. The interpretation of TVEI was locally determined and depended on a number of factors. These included the nature of the Authority, its style of educational management, and its state of educational development. The major TVEI themes were recognisable in each of the three projects, but the ways in which these had been developed were different in each case. The next two Chapters analyse the effects of TVEI on the three LEAs and consider differences and similarities between the projects. Possible reasons for any differences that were found are considered, given that the start date for TVEI was the same for each project. The three case studies analyse the management structures used to implement TVEI, and evaluate the major educational features found in each project. The case studies will be developed around the following parameters:

- (i) the climate for the introduction of TVEI within the LEA,
- (ii) the degree of direction by the LEA, over the involvement in TVEI, of its schools and colleges,
- (iii) the amount of general support for TVEI developments provided to institutions by the LEA,

- (iv) the likely degree of future integration of TVEI into the work of the Authority.

In order to consider the outcomes of TVEI developments in the three LEAs, one of the three projects (Powys) will be analysed in detail in this Chapter and the major features then compared (Chapter 7) with similar developments in the other two projects (Coventry and Warwickshire). The reason for selecting Powys in this way was that this particular LEA provided opportunities for investigating how far a number of important features might have affected the development of TVEI. Compared with the projects in Coventry and Warwickshire:

- the schools and colleges in the Powys project were a considerable distance apart. This could have had implications for communication and the ways in which institutions were able to collaborate and exchange ideas.
- the areas of Powys in which the schools and colleges were situated represented very different cultural backgrounds. This could have had an effect on the attitudes of parents and teachers to education and to the sorts of developments being piloted through TVEI.
- the schools in the Powys project varied considerably in size, some had less than 300 pupils, while others had in excess of 1200. The size of the school might have had an effect on the way in which TVEI was managed.

- there was a greater variety of educational practice between the institutions in Powys. This could have had an effect on the ways in which the change process was developed, both at institution and LEA levels.
- the LEA had not previously been in the vanguard of educational innovation. This might have had an effect on the delivery of an initiative of the size and complexity of TVEI.
- the LEA had failed to create structures for coping with curriculum development projects. This could have affected the management of TVEI within the County.
- the opportunities for meeting some of the aims of TVEI were limited by the rural nature of the County of Powys. For instance, there was a restricted industrial base, and openings for work experience and employment were limited.

6.2 THE POWYS TVEI PROJECT.

(1) The Educational Climate for the Introduction of TVEI.

Powys was formed in 1974 as an amalgamation of three Welsh Counties: Brecknock, Radnor and Montgomery. Although the previous Authorities were small, each had been proud of its strong educational traditions and local independence. Remnants of the three Counties still exist, and former views, held by each area separately, are still influential on the way education is developing in Powys. This situation has been exacerbated by the very large geographical area of Powys, which gives

the County the fifth largest land area in Great Britain, but one of the smallest populations.

There were, at the time the research was carried out, 13 secondary schools in the County and 3 colleges of Further Education (one in each of the previous Shires). The schools varied considerably in size. Each of the schools served its own area of the County and there was no appreciable competition between them for pupils from outside their own areas. Indeed it was possible to see the schools as having a highly localised focus and representing the specific needs of their local communities, without actually being open for community use. The size of the County, however, meant that each school took pupils from a large geographical area, and because of transport problems, social activities for pupils were restricted.

The prevailing educational tradition in Powys secondary schools, at the time TVEI was introduced, was still that of the Grammar school, ie:

- a traditional academic curriculum,
- an emphasis on sporting traditions,
- a respect for the inherent value of education to individuals as a means of increasing their social mobility,
- the high status of the headteachers and their teaching staff in the eyes of their local communities.

Although this particular ethos had slowly been eroded since the introduction of comprehensive education in Powys, it was possible to find the Grammar school ethos still figuring prominently in both the

views of teachers and the traditions of the schools. To a large extent, this feature probably enabled the schools to maintain the considerable autonomy that they enjoyed prior to the birth of the County of Powys, and meant that headteachers were able to run their schools in a manner described by Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) as 'Traditional Authoritarian', and by Hughes (1973) as 'Traditionalist'.

The LEA had not become a leading force in encouraging change in the County, because of a reticence on the part of elected members to disturb the status quo. The strong local identity of the schools was allowed to continue, and schools maintained their independence and developed in ways that individual headteachers believed to be the most appropriate. Although some heads indicated a wish for the LEA to take a more pro-active part in leading developments, a majority were strongly opposed to this change, stating that they had been appointed to run their schools. This situation was further complicated by the ways in which local school governing bodies still largely represented the 'old Counties', and strongly supported the autonomy of the schools that they managed.

The LEA, in the past, had mainly acted as an administrative support to schools, and tended to have little real impact on developments. The size of the County meant that schools and colleges were physically isolated, and opportunities for collaboration did not readily occur. It was also difficult for the County's small team of 10 advisers (compared with 19 in Coventry and 17 in Warwickshire) to visit the schools on a regular basis; partly because of the considerable

travelling distances involved, but also as a result of the requirements placed upon them, by the Director of Education, to work mainly on LEA-wide issues.

The historical development of Powys also created a number of cultural divisions. In the west of the County, two of the smaller schools which were isolated from their neighbours by considerable distances, were both situated in predominantly Welsh speaking areas. Although the school in the south-west of the County no longer taught through the medium of Welsh, and the neighbouring area had become strongly influenced by the more anglicised and urbanised areas of West Glamorgan, there was still a strong Welsh culture obvious among the staff of the school and the parents from the locality. The school in the north-west of the County was a bilingual school, and the headteacher believed fervently in not only maintaining the 'Welsh dimension', but if possible in increasing it so that all those children in the local area with little Welsh language capability, also become bilingual. Within this school there was a strong belief that its function was to serve the needs of its local community and to redevelop again those Welsh traditions that had begun to disappear. The headteacher also considered that his school had far more affinity with those in the Welsh speaking areas of Gwynedd and Dyfed, than with those in the more 'anglicised' County of Powys. In contrast, a number of the schools in the east of the County of Powys were more representative of English traditions, and had an obvious affinity with the border Counties of Hereford & Worcester and Shropshire.

Powys was also a County that suffered from considerable levels of unemployment. There were few industrial outlets, with the principal employment being on small farms. The lack of job prospects, together with the small size of the major towns in the County meant that there had been a large amount of rural depopulation among the indigenous Welsh population (particularly the younger generations). This situation had been particularly noticeable in the west of the County, which was still predominantly rural. The new industry that had been introduced into Powys tended to be situated in the east of the County, which had better communication networks with England. This brought with it migrants from across the border, and although these people were generally accepted by the inhabitants of the area, they tended to be resented by those from the west of the County.

In Powys, therefore, schools had a very high degree of autonomy. The LEA had allowed this to continue, and the style was strongly supported by headteachers and their local communities and governors. As a result, educational development had tended to be rather slow. The inhabitants of the County, and the Local Authority, tended to take great pride in their schools and in the education being provided for their children. However, this pride was perhaps vested in views of curriculum and pedagogy which were more traditional than was the case in many other LEAs. Where developments had taken place, they largely occurred through the actions of the schools themselves, and tended to be somewhat piece-meal and idiosyncratic. For instance, in one school the Certificate of Pre-vocational Education (CPVE) was introduced as a response to the needs of those pupils in the school who did not wish to

take A-Levels, but whose only other course of action would have been unemployment; this particular innovation was, however, neither opposed nor supported by the LEA.

The east of the County tended to have been most affected by economic change, and consequently it was possible to observe some changes in the educational structure. In one school, for instance, the Headteacher stated that many of the pre-vocational aims of TVEI had been introduced before the Initiative had been thought of, as a response to the needs of the pupils of the area. In the same school there was also a well developed link-course structure with the neighbouring Further Education college.

(11) The Direction of TVEI in Powys.

The autonomy of the Powys schools, in addition to the great variations in educational development in the County and the capacity for bringing this about, are important factors when considering the introduction of new initiatives such as TVEI. It was not easy to discover why Powys submitted a scheme for TVEI, other than to observe that the LEA was not ideologically opposed to the Initiative, and that it did represent considerable extra funding from Central Government. While the County had not had any great tradition of LEA-inspired educational change, there was a belief among elected members that the funding provided to the schools was inadequate for their needs. They saw this as relating directly to a lack of a substantial industrial base in the County. As a result, some members of the Powys Education Committee saw TVEI funding as a possible way of revitalising the Powys economy, and since

TVEI was conceived as being about work and employability of young people, there were obvious possible spin-offs for pupils which could have had an important effect on the creation of future job opportunities.

Powys, because of its economic and social problems, had already been recognised as a development area in Wales, and the County had received funding from various Development Boards. Indeed, one of the principal themes of TVEI pursued by the Powys Project was the development of enterprise education, and encouragement was given to pupils to set up their own model businesses. There were political and economic reasons, therefore, behind the Authority's acceptance of the Initiative, as was recognised in the First Year Evaluation Report of TVEI in the County:

'Powys is a small diversified school system serving a large and predominantly rural area, it was, however, more ready for TVEI than might be expected. In part this is because of a wide range of EEC and Development Authority schemes such as the Mid-Wales Project which have been established in the schools'.

(Eggleston 1985 p6)

Powys Schools were encouraged by the LEA to bid for inclusion in the TVEI pilot scheme, and were asked to submit proposals for how they would meet the necessary criteria. Although these bids possibly had some effect on which schools were eventually selected, there were more important political implications behind the final choice of institutions that was made. It was decided by elected members that the cohort of 250 pupils would be contained in five schools, two in the south of the County (BHS and MCS - The Southern Consortium), and three in the north (NHS, WHS and YBD - The Northern Consortium). Each of the two consortia was to be serviced by an FE college (CHH and MCFE) which

would eventually become full partners in the scheme. The nature of these consortia meant that, although not all parts of the County were represented in the Initiative, most shades of opinion and cultural background were. The two schools in the 'Welsh' west were involved in the Powys scheme, together with one in the south-east and two in the north-east.

In retrospect, this was probably not the most ideal arrangement for TVEI. The institutions which were chosen were a considerable distance apart, and also demonstrated considerable cultural and educational differences. As a result, collaboration between the two schools in the Southern Consortium was virtually non-existent, and in the north, a similar situation occurred as far as the Welsh medium school was concerned. It was also an unfortunate decision, given the strong 'old County identity', that no institutions from the former Radnor County were included in the scheme. However, the paramount difficulty in the arrangement of institutions was undoubtedly distance, since it proved impossible for the County to use TVEI as a way of encouraging collaboration and uniformity within the existing educational structure. It was difficult for meetings to occur, and for central support to be provided.

The position of the colleges of Further Education in TVEI in Powys was interesting because, of the three colleges in the LEA, two were involved and one was not, which again in retrospect was somewhat divisive. The college in the north had already had considerable involvement with its local secondary school, and these two institutions

expanded their co-operation under the umbrella of TVEI. A collaborative structure was produced, which was seen by many, including the MSC, as an exemplary model for school-college liaison. On the other hand, however, since this consortium became partially isolated from the remainder of the northern schools, and was constantly promoted as an example of good practice in the County, it tended to generate negative reactions in the other institutions. In the south of the County, despite the fact that the college shared the same campus as one of the TVEI schools, there was very little attempt to share developments.

It was decided by the LEA that the TVEI scheme would be managed by a Project Co-ordinator who was the County science adviser at the time. For the extra responsibilities involved, he was promoted from a Group 9 headteacher salary to a Group 10. This person was highly regarded, both by the LEA and the institutions, for his administrative and advisory capabilities, but since the Authority did not fully release him from his other commitments, he was torn between his TVEI responsibilities on the one hand, and his many other LEA-wide responsibilities, including science and technology, on the other. The Project Co-ordinator developed TVEI in a similar way to that in which he had previously encouraged science education in the County. As a result of the high esteem in which he was already held by schools, his approach was generally successful. However, the problems of distance between schools meant that he was unable to spend much time in any of the institutions involved, and this further exacerbated the difficulties created by his other commitments outside TVEI.

While decisions about the nature of the Powys scheme were initially taken centrally, institutions eventually interpreted this framework in their own ways. However, because of the different degrees of preparedness of schools for TVEI, the developments varied considerably in degree and quality, and the LEA's policy of allowing its schools to preserve their autonomy meant that this situation was largely allowed to continue. Where developments were not occurring, the lack of advisory support, to either monitor events or to provide advice and to suggest alternative strategies, was a feature which did not allow TVEI to develop uniformly across the County. This was commented on in the First Year Evaluation Report:

'...a considerable amount of work was necessary before an acceptable scheme was achieved and the Authority began to participate in the Initiative.'

(Eggleston 1985 p4)

The TVEI structure within Powys schools was largely idiosyncratic. While the more obvious common themes expected by the MSC existed (eg work experience and information technology), other facets were less easy to distinguish at an Authority level. Much of the initial funding was made available for additional staffing, and for the purchase of equipment, particularly computer facilities. Although the curriculum development that took place was largely coherent with the initial expectations of TVEI, ie electronics, computer studies and technology, these areas were less affected by changes in teaching and learning styles than by the possibility of introducing new subject material and using new equipment. Little real curriculum innovation was apparent, since most of the newly introduced subjects were taken from pre-

existing syllabuses and, in this sense, the introduction of TVEI in Powys was a low-risk enterprise.

Although the County TVEI submission was sent to the MSC in February 1984, final approval was not received until near the end of the academic year. The short lead-in time caused problems for the LEA, as pointed out in the First Year Evaluation Report:

'The delayed final approval led to one major difficulty. The Authority, understandably, was not prepared to appoint additional staff or purchase new resources until a clear MSC commitment was received; this meant that the enhancement of resources in schools did not occur until after the start of the scheme. '

(Eggleston 1985 p5)

Much of the funding for TVEI in Powys was used on a 'front-loaded' basis to provide equipment. This meant that while the funding was adequate during the first year of the Project, this tailed off as the scheme developed, and there was little real room for manoeuvre when future changes were being planned. This particularly affected the 16-18 phase, for which proposals were not submitted until two years after the original 14-18 submission, and to which little previous thought had been given.

(iii) The Amount of Support for TVEI in Powys.

The lack of collaboration caused problems for the dissemination of the developments in the TVEI schools. Although nationally, collaboration between institutions has been found to lead to a sharing of developments and to an increased knowledge of the scheme being developed (Sims 1989), this situation was not commonly found in the Powys TVEI schools, and mechanisms for dissemination throughout the

Authority were poorly developed. TVEI was generally a rather low-key and somewhat hidden feature of the Authority's work.

Groups were created by the Project in an attempt to foster curriculum development (eg in micro-electronics and business studies), but these groups tended to have little real impact. Distance factors, and a lack of leadership by the County, were the main contributors to this situation. The LEA advisory staff, for instance, were not closely involved in the developments taking place, and the groups were managed by teachers who were given little leadership and support. While innovations did occur in some schools, as a result of the work of individual teachers (eg in bio-technology and Recording of Achievement), these were often poorly disseminated by the Project. There was little involvement of the Authority's advisers in TVEI, and the Project Co-ordinator was largely isolated in this respect. For the LEA generally, and the advisers in particular, TVEI was seen as outside their normal remit, and was an example of additionality which was perceived as having little direct significance for their work.

The Project Co-ordinator had administrative support, and the help of a senior careers officer who had been appointed to develop work experience schemes in the County. Otherwise, he was given no additional resources and hence his effectiveness was controlled both by the enormity of the tasks facing him, and by the variety of his responsibilities. Because a central TVEI team was virtually non-existent, except in relation to administrative matters, there was little encouragement for change emanating from the LEA. Any incentives

that did arise, tended to come from the headteachers of the TVEI schools themselves. For instance, one head took the opportunity to develop technology teaching through the medium of Welsh. It has already been pointed out that heads had a high degree of autonomy in the County, and were able to operate in a traditional manner. As a result, not only were they able to generate change in their own establishments, they could also easily stifle it. Thus while the Project was keen to develop pupil profiling techniques, this was limited by the head of one school to a small number of pupils, despite the requirement to involve the whole year group. In this respect, change through TVEI in Powys was directly controlled by the attitudes of the heads and principals of the schools and colleges, and by the ways in which they believed that the traditions of their schools would be altered, and the attitudes of their parents and governors affected, by involvement in the Initiative. One head was reticent to introduce the use of more 'active' teaching methods, since he believed that this would antagonise some parents who wanted traditional approaches to be used. Another head, however, used the school's involvement in TVEI to attract industrial sponsorship and to present a more 'technological' image to prospective parents. As a result one school forged ahead with TVEI, seeing it as a promotional opportunity, while another attempted to subsume the effects of TVEI, and to disguise its existence from parents.

The manner in which TVEI developed in the schools in Powys was highly individualistic. In one case, TVEI became totally integrated into the pupils' programme, since many of the aims of TVEI were already in line

with the aims of the school. In another two schools, TVEI began to influence the whole curriculum and to become seen as an acceptable scheme for all pupils. In the remaining two schools, TVEI was very much an additional feature, which only survived because of the contractual obligation to the funding being provided. The heads of these schools involved their teachers and pupils as little as possible in TVEI developments. As discussed already, although geographical factors reduced the possibility of collaboration between Powys schools, this feature was exacerbated by the individuality of the schools, and their desire to maintain their isolation from the TVEI project's attempts to encourage some degree of uniformity.

Staff development within TVEI was not readily supported by the other members of the advisory team, and hence the Project Co-ordinator had to bear the brunt of this himself. Since he was not able to contribute all the required expertise, INSET tended to be piece-meal and narrowly focussed. Thus while there was some attention given to assisting co-ordinators with the management of change in their institutions, there was no support provided to Heads of Department to implement change. The success of the developments taking place depended on the way heads were able to control access by the Project to the staff in their schools. The first year evaluation found that:

'Another difficulty was that not all school teachers involved in teaching TVEI courses seemed to be aware of either the national or Authority determined objectives of the Initiative; some saw it as being of little or no difference from any other new or even existing subject in the curriculum'.

(Eggleston 1985 p7)

In many respects, the two colleges were more successful in utilising TVEI than the schools. Both of the colleges concerned had had to market their courses for the 16-18 phase in order to obtain sufficient students since, not only were they in competition with the schools, they were also in competition with each other. This meant that, since each college was comparatively small, TVEI was used as a means of encouraging change and introducing new pedagogical strategies. For instance, developments in the content of a number of courses, such as catering, nursery nursing and business studies, occurred, and changes were also introduced in the ways that these courses were delivered. In this respect, TVEI within Powys differed from the view presented by the national evaluation of the 16-18 phase (Bridgwood 1988), in that some positive developments did take place.

The Powys Further Education colleges which were involved with TVEI, were also able to support the developments taking place in the schools in the 14-16 phase (eg through link course programmes and the sharing of facilities). The degree and the success of this support, however, were affected by the relationships that had existed previously between the institutions concerned, and the willingness for co-operative developments to take place. The competition that occurred between schools and colleges in Powys, for pupils at 16+, tended to be a decisive factor in this, as were the more traditional attitudes shown towards further education by many school staff. The traditional views about education in Powys tended to place an academic sixth form education at a higher status than a course at an FE college, and

consequently the nature of the 16-18 pupil populations differed significantly between the schools and the colleges.

(iv) The Management of TVEI in Powys.

If the principal change strategies used by Powys to introduce TVEI are examined, it is evident that no single style predominated. In terms of the strategies identified by Chin (1967) and Etzioni (1961) the approach used lay somewhere between a rational-empirical model and a normative/re-educative one, without either model being matched in its entirety. Whilst it was apparent that there was no real pressure from the LEA to enforce changes in the schools, the 'funding coercion' of the TVEI project was an incentive for some changes to be made. However, since there was little attempt by the LEA to impress its own objectives on its institutions, the innovations which occurred tended to be those which were acceptable to the individual schools and colleges. In addition to maintaining the autonomy of its institutions, it was apparent that the ideas which were suggested to institutions by the LEA had a high degree of coherence with existing practices. In this respect, the LEA did not seem to want to provoke any degree of disharmony. The difficulties which the LEA had in disseminating and communicating its ideas to its institutions, did not assist in the management of change process, for there was a need to rely upon distanced communications. Although the Project Co-ordinator attempted to encourage change and to support innovation, he was not well supported in this by other LEA staff. As a result, he was unable to spend much time changing attitudes and practices in the institutions themselves, and relied upon written communications and centrally

organised development meetings. The written communications tended to require a willingness on the part of individuals in the schools to accept the common sense of the suggestions being made, while the meetings which were held were infrequent, and involved only a small number of teachers, mainly at Head of Department or school co-ordinator levels. Since the Project did not articulate its policies strongly to its schools, the meetings which were held tended to reinforce existing practices, and helped to create a tacit acceptance of these. While the Project had attempted to set up two 'consortia' these did not operate effectively, and the schools largely maintained their independence.

The model for introducing TVEI in the County was one of relative-autonomy (Beattie 1985), in which, although the LEA provided the framework for development, actual control over the delivery of the scheme lay with the institutions involved. The autonomy of the individual headteachers of the Powys schools was critical to the ways in which changes occurred through TVEI, and to whether or not changes were actually adopted by their staff.

The Project Co-ordinator adopted a role in which he administered all aspects of the scheme, but in which he distanced himself somewhat from its delivery in the schools. While he did not adopt a 'Chief Executive' style (Chapter 4), neither did he attempt to manage the Initiative in the schools or to compete with headteachers for control of TVEI. In effect, he tried to persuade individuals and institutions to adopt changes, and attempted to show them how this might be achieved. While he clearly wanted to further the aims of TVEI, this

was not done in ways which over-ruled the autonomy of the institutions. In all these respects, therefore, he adopted what Beattie (1985) has described as the 'Adviser' role, which was merely an extension of the former position he had held in the Authority. With the advent of the Extension phase of TVEI, the LEA attempted to strengthen its management of the Initiative in its schools by appointing two consortium managers. While it might have been anticipated that the Project Co-ordinator would then have adopted a 'Chief Executive' or 'Inspector/evaluator' style, in which he created structures and opportunities for monitoring the delivery of the scheme, this was not the case, and he largely maintained his previous advisory approach.

It was apparent during the Annual Reviews of the Powys project, held in 1986 and 1987, that relationships between the LEA and the MSC were sometimes fraught. The MSC argued that the Project was not fully meeting its contractual obligations, particularly with regard to collaborative working and curriculum development. The MSC attempted to redefine the objectives for the coming year. The style adopted by the MSC was confrontational and directive and was aimed at restructuring the ways in which the Project was operating. During these meetings the LEA sought to defend its position, and was supported in this by the headteachers of the TVEI schools. The LEA argued that good progress was in fact being made at the institutional level and that it was supportive of the work of its headteachers. While there were sometimes tacit threats from the MSC to discontinue the funding, this did not occur. The problem for the MSC was that it had only limited evidence upon which to base its case, since it had just one Regional Adviser for

the whole of Wales. The tenor of the Annual Review held in 1988 was somewhat different, and there appeared to be a greater willingness on the part of the MSC to enter into a dialogue with the Authority. This Review, however, was held at the time when Powys had been refused entry into TVEI Extension.

(v) The Future Integration of TVEI.

The first Powys submission for TVEI Extension was turned down by the MSC in 1988, largely because of an apparent lack of proposed management structures for supporting the development of TVEI in the schools, but also as a result of a lack of previous and proposed collaborative developments. Despite the fact that the MSC had agreed to provide the LEA with 'development' funding in order to prepare the ground better for Extension in the future, the refusal of an immediate start had a noticeable effect on the elected members and officers of the Authority. Their reaction to the rejection of the submission was taken as being tantamount to the MSC stating that the quality of education provided by the LEA was not acceptable, and they decided that a thorough internal review of secondary and further education was needed. The refusal of the Extension bid by the MSC encouraged the LEA to look again at its management strategies. Local evaluation reports and Annual Reviews had provided formative evidence about the progress of the Project, but this information seems either to have been misunderstood or deliberately ignored. Whether it was right for the Authority to be allowed to fail in this way in its attempt to enter TVEI Extension is questionable. It might have been more appropriate for the MSC to provide additional

formative feedback on the successes and failures of the scheme, rather than to issue a summative judgement. However, this outcome reflected the problems confronting the MSC in its attempts to manage the Initiative which have already been outlined in Chapter 4. If the MSC had decided on a strategy of encouraging LEAs to change by issuing a refusal to start on Extension, then this certainly appeared to have the necessary effect in the case of Powys. The difficulties of allowing the autonomy of individual institutions to continue against a background of inadequate collaborative development were high-lighted, if not immediately acted upon.

6.3 THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.

In order to consider more fully the factors which were found to affect the acceptance and integration of TVEI in the separate institutions, the seven TVEI schools and colleges will be considered against the following conceptual framework:

1) An analysis of TVEI at the institutional level.

The data that was collected during the evaluation of the TVEI institutions in Powys will be set against the conceptual frameworks and models discussed in previous Chapters of this thesis, ie:

- Saunders' framework (1985) relating to the ways in which TVEI was accepted into the institutions,
- Dale's framework (1986) relating to the degree to which TVEI was seen to fit with the 'saliency' of the institutions,

- 11) The attitudes of the Headteachers and Principals to TVEI developments.

The role of the institution head, in the process of change through TVEI, has been considered in Chapter 4. In this section the results of interviews with the headteachers and principals of the Powys schools and colleges will be considered against that earlier analysis.

- 111) The roles and functions of the Institutional TVEI Co-ordinators.

Bell (1987) and McCabe (1986) have described the centrality of the role of institutional co-ordinators within the management of TVEI, and this has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. This section will include the results of the semi-structured interviews carried out with the TVEI institution co-ordinators in Powys, and will consider some of their perceptions of the roles that they fulfilled in their institutions. In addition the results of the activity diaries which were kept by the co-ordinators will be analysed.

6.4 A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF TVEI AT THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL.

There were considerable differences between the ways in which individual institutions interpreted TVEI in Powys. The differences tended to reflect:

- 1) the traditions of the institutions, and
- 11) the views of the headteachers and principals.

FIGURE 6.1. A Summary of Institutional Change through TVEI.

:Institution:	BHS	: CHH	: MCS	: MCFE	: NHS	: VHS	: YBD	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:Identity	low	: high	: high	: low	: very	: high	: fairly	:
:of TVEI	:	:	:	:	: low	:	: high	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:Integration	low	: fairly	: fairly	: high	: high	: fairly	: fairly	:
:of TVEI	:	: high	: high	:	:	: high	: high	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:Compass	narrow	: wide	: narrow	: wide	: very	: narrow	: fairly	:
:of TVEI	:	:	:	:	: wide	:	: wide	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:Status of	low	: high	: low	: high	: high	: low	: low	:
:TVEI	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:Overall	accom	: adapt	: accom	: mutual	: mutual	: accom	: accom	:
:Effect	:	: exten	:	: devt	: devt	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

(accom = Accommodated; adapt exten = Adaptive Extension;)

The various features relating to the introduction of TVEI in Powys tended to reflect the historical perspectives of the County's schools. Since schools in the LEA had considerable autonomy, they tended to operate initiatives in ways that they found to be most appropriate for dealing with the attitudes of their staff and parents, and for matching their existing organisational structures. The ways in which TVEI was assimilated into the institutions, and the subsequent effects that the scheme had on their practices, are illustrated in Figure 6.1, in which the seven institutions involved are considered against a number of theoretical frameworks for the adoption of TVEI. It will be noticed from this table, that in terms of Dale's (1985) model of 'The TVEI Effect', the identity of TVEI was high within four of the institutions,

while in the other three it was low. Although in one school there were only a limited number of students exposed to TVEI, in the remainder, a fairly high degree of institutionalisation was observed. In all but one case, TVEI was quite well integrated into the work of the schools and colleges. Although this could have been interpreted as a sign of the acceptance of TVEI by the Powys institutions, it has to be acknowledged that this might also have been a strategy used by some schools to 'hide' the Initiative within their more general work. This possibility was also supported by the fact that the 'Compass' (Dale 1985) of TVEI in the institutions was fairly evenly divided; in three cases it was fairly small, and in four fairly large. In the case of one school, however, the 'Compass' was undoubtedly widening as TVEI became perceived as less of a threat to the organisation.

There was considerable concern among the Powys TVEI heads and principals over the effects that the Initiative might have on their institutions. Where this concern was sufficiently great, the heads either attempted to 'hide' the Initiative in the general work of their schools or, as was the case in one school, to isolate TVEI entirely and to regard it, as far as possible, as the LEA's project rather than the school's. The reason that the latter approach was not more commonly used in the County was probably because any failure of the Initiative might have then been seen as attributable to the schools.

The problems inherent in Dale's model, which have already been discussed in Chapter 4, are well illustrated in the case of the Powys TVEI project. Although the framework is a useful one for making

comparisons between the institutions, it does not take into account a number of factors:

- (i) the effect of the Initiative on the institution over a period of time,
- (ii) the traditions of the institutions themselves, and
- (iii) the nature of the relationship between an institution and the LEA.

In nearly every case, the salience of TVEI in the institutions in Powys was found to increase with time, particularly with regard to its integration and 'Compass'; this was probably a result of:

- the degree to which the Project itself was able to encourage change,
- teachers becoming more comfortable with the Initiative,
- some of the beneficial effects that the scheme was seen to be producing (for instance work experience and profiling became particularly acceptable aspects in the work of the schools),
- the INSET which became available through TVEI and TRIST. This encouraged the development of new teaching and learning styles and encouraged a coherence with the simultaneous introduction of GCSE.

Thus, whereas initially some headteachers had been wary about the scheme, their anxieties relaxed as the potentially negative effects of TVEI were either eliminated, or proved to be containable. While the salience generally increased, this did not mean that the scheme produced by any individual school was ever fully consistent with the aims of the TVEI project.

In general, most of the institutions had little history of providing any form of vocational education. Where this had been more common, TVEI was found to be more readily acceptable, if only for limited groups of students and for specific purposes. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that where the existing practice of the institution was broadly consistent with TVEI, the degree of change engendered by the Project was often quite limited compared with those institutions that started from a lower base-line. For instance, although TVEI was seen by one of the colleges as legitimately furthering those aspects of its work which were consistent with the broad philosophy of TVEI, these were not entirely consistent with the immediate objectives of the Powys project, and the developments undertaken were idiosyncratic. While the college introduced active learning approaches into various vocational courses, these had not been previously agreed as priorities with the LEA.

In Chapter 4, the concept of 'status' was introduced as an important addition to Dale's typology. TVEI was given low status in most of the institutions in Powys, and subjects, introduced through TVEI, were only able to compete with established academic subjects if they could also

promote an academically acceptable format, eg electronics. Many of the institutions were unhappy about marketing TVEI as a suitable course for all pupils, because it might have eroded some of their more favoured academic traditions. As a result, TVEI often became part of an alternative curriculum, and was used to provide opportunities for less able or disaffected pupils in a number of the schools. Again, this situation was seen to change with time, as elements of TVEI became more acceptable to the institutions. The Initiative changed from a bolt-on curriculum development to an innovation concerned more with classroom practice and pedagogy. It has to be acknowledged, however, that this change was slow to occur in Powys and probably reflected the lack of determination by the Project leaders to generate and sustain changes in the institutions.

The lack of capability in the LEA for encouraging and sustaining change was also demonstrated by TVEI being 'adapted' (Saunders 1986) in four institutions to fit the existing aims and structures. While in one case there was some extension of the existing pattern, only in two cases was TVEI actually used to support and encourage change, particularly in relation to teaching and learning styles and the work-related curriculum. However, even in these institutions, many of the changes had already started to occur, so that, in effect, the development was 'mutually beneficial'. A major difficulty with Saunders' categories is that they do not take into account how consistent the changes were with the aims and criteria of TVEI. In the case of the two institutions in which there was 'mutual

development', there was a coherence between the schools' aims and the aims of TVEI, while in the other case, where 'adaptive extension' was taking place, there was some inconsistency between these changes and the objectives of the Initiative, ie TVEI was being used only as a source of funding to generate change. Where TVEI was 'accommodated' by the institution, this was often a sign of the concern of the headteacher about the effects that the Initiative might have on the work of the school. In those cases where TVEI was later found to produce positive benefits, heads were then more willing to allow TVEI to have an increased impact. In one school, for instance, the effects that TVEI was having on the attitudes of pupils to their work, as a result of increased opportunities for negotiation with teachers, encouraged the head to become more innovative in other areas of the school organisation.

The impact that TVEI had on an institution was also dependent upon the attitudes of other staff in the school. Where the school co-ordinator or Heads of Department had views about TVEI which were opposed to those of the headteacher, this had some effect on the ways in which the Initiative was assimilated. In one school, the attitude of the headteacher towards TVEI was found to be strongly influenced by the positive reactions of his TVEI co-ordinator, who was also a member of his senior management team. It was also evident in some schools that changes were taking place despite the opposition of the headteacher to TVEI, however, these changes were in discrete and somewhat marginal areas of the curriculum (eg electronics) and had a minimal impact on the overall running of the school. It was difficult for TVEI to have

any real influence in schools where the headteachers were strongly opposed to the Initiative, due to the authority that they held. It was noticeable, however, that some heads found it difficult to sustain changes, which they favoured, in the face of opposition from their staff. This was particularly true when a change had been introduced that was demanding of staff time (eg pupil profiling and Recording of Achievement). Where schools had already formed a working relationship with the Authority in relation to curriculum development (eg the introduction of Nuffield Science schemes), this became an additional inducement to the successful introduction of TVEI. The attitudes of the headteachers was an essential element in the impact that TVEI had in Powys, and in all cases the heads were the principal gate-keepers and change agents in their institutions.

6.5 THE ATTITUDES OF THE POWYS HEADTEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS TO TVEI DEVELOPMENTS.

At the time when TVEI was introduced into Powys, all of the secondary school headteachers and college principals in the County were men. They had all been in post for some considerable time and had established their authority and autonomy within their institutions. Although the schools varied in size, even in the biggest institution nearly all transactions needed to take place first through the head. The heads and principals were highly influential in the development of TVEI in the County, and dealt with any changes imposed from outside their schools. Figure 6.2 demonstrates that the predominant management

style used by these heads and principals was a traditional hierarchical one.

Figure 6.2. Headteacher/Principal styles in Powys.

: Institution :	Style	:
=====		
: BHS :	Traditional Authoritarian/	:
:	Charismatic	:

: CHH :	Entrepreneurial/	:
:	Charismatic	:

: MCS :	Traditional Authoritarian	:

: MCFE :	Traditional Authoritarian	:

: NHS :	Traditional Authoritarian	:

: WHS :	Traditional Authoritarian/	:
:	Charismatic	:

: YBD :	Traditional Authoritarian	:

(Derived from Sikes, Measor and Woods 1985)

This conclusion was arrived at through individual interviews with the headteachers, with LEA officers, and with teachers in the schools. The heads were observed carrying out their daily activities, and they also completed a questionnaire about their attitudes towards TVEI. The leadership style they employed was then measured against the following set of parameters:

(i) The Traditional Authoritarian Heads.

- The extent to which they put forward their own aims and objectives for their schools,
- The extent to which they expected staff to accept their decisions as a consequence of their status.

(ii) The Participative Heads.

- The extent to which they involved other people in decision making,
- How far they saw their role as being the leader of professional teams.

(iii) The Charismatic Heads.

- The extent to which they expected staff to accept their decisions as a consequence of their experience and wisdom.

(iv) The Bureaucratic Heads.

- How far they accepted the LEA's philosophy for their schools,
- The extent to which their schools operated a rigid bureaucratic system with little flexibility.

(v) The Entrepreneurs.

- How far they saw their role as marketing educational services to the community.

The Powys heads were clearly in charge of their institutions, and staff expected that any decisions about innovations would be made by them. A

number of the heads adopted charismatic ways of working with their teaching staff, and these individuals were held in some 'awe' by many of their colleagues. The Powys heads and principals were very much the Leading Professionals (Hughes 1973) in their institutions, and as such strongly influenced the ways in which their colleagues operated.

Figure 6.3 Powys Headteachers' responses as Leading Professionals.

: Institution	:	Type of approach	:
: BHS	:	Traditionalist	:
: CHH	:	Innovator	:
: MCS	:	Traditionalist	:
: MCFE	:	Innovator	:
: NHS	:	Innovator	:
: WHS	:	Entrepreneur	:
: YBD	:	Extended Professional	:

(Derived from Hughes 1973)

Hughes defined two aspects of the 'Leading Professional' role: a 'Traditional Dimension' and an 'Innovating Dimension'. The former relates to how far the headteacher is willing to become involved in teaching and pastoral activities, and the latter to how far the head is willing to encourage innovation and to be influenced by views external to the school (eg through professional associations). These criteria were used to assess the nature of the professional response made by each of the headteachers in Powys, through an analysis of the evidence which was gained during this research. This evidence included

interviews with the headteachers, with LEA officers and with teachers in the schools; observation of the daily activities of the headteachers; and the responses that the heads made to a questionnaire relating to TVEI.

Figure 6.3 shows that two of the heads were low on the innovation dimension but higher in their responses to teaching and pastoral work, while three were higher on innovation than on the traditional dimension of their schools. One head was an 'Extended professional', and was quite high on both dimensions. The other head did not fit easily into the categories proposed by Hughes (1973), since he was average on both the innovating and traditional dimensions but high on his attempts to encourage public relations and to create a positive image for his school.

Although a majority of the Powys heads were innovators, they tended to be selective over the innovations that they adopted. In most cases they were 'low risk-takers', and thus they welcomed changes that were unlikely to damage the existing organisational patterns of their institutions. In most cases their views were already well established. They did not respond readily to persuasion, and were not prepared to be easily convinced by example; however, a change did occur in the case of one of the headteachers, who later came to the conclusion that a number of his initial reactions to TVEI were unfounded.

Hughes' research demonstrated that there was a tendency for heads of large schools to be 'innovators' and for heads of small schools to be

'traditionalists'. This was not observed in this study, since the head of the largest school (BHS) was a 'traditionalist' and the head of the smallest school (YBD) an 'innovator'. The principals of the two colleges were both 'innovators', which probably reflected the increasing demand for further education to be responsive to the needs of students and industry, and to generate its own full cost recovery income.

Most of the heads and principals welcomed the introduction of TVEI, not so much for the inherent aims of the Initiative, but because the funding had enabled them to further pursue those avenues of development which they had already begun. None of them had had to introduce any changes that they had not wished to, which suggests that they were able to be selective about how they assimilated the TVEI aims, and that the LEA had not coerced them into adopting changes that they did not want to undertake. In this sense, therefore, all the institutions used TVEI in idiosyncratic ways, and except in the case of one school and one college, collaboration was not encouraged by the headteachers. Indeed there was little common ground upon which to base the consortium structure that had been created by the Project, and in effect this did not operate at all successfully. In fact, the attitudes of the heads and principal in the south of the County meant that that consortium virtually failed to work at all. The advantages which accrued for schools and colleges in Powys, through TVEI, were largely focussed, therefore, on the needs of individual institutions.

Figure 6.4 Headteachers' attitudes to introducing TVEI.

:	Institution	:	Head's Attitude to TVEI	:
:	BHS	:	Abdication	:
:	CHH	:	Supportive	:
:	MCS	:	Co-operative	:
:	MCFE	:	Supportive	:
:	NHS	:	Supportive	:
:	WHS	:	Suspicious (early stage)	:
:		:	Supportive (later stage)	:
:	YBD	:	Filibustering	:

(Derived from Sikes and Taylor 1987)

The individual needs of their institutions led headteachers to support or oppose TVEI to differing degrees.

The evidence which was available in this research, ie:

- (i) the responses from interviews with heads, LEA officers and teachers in schools,
- (ii) observation of the daily activities of headteachers.
- (iii) an analysis of a questionnaire completed by heads about TVEI.

was analysed against the following list of possible headteacher attitudes towards TVEI:

(i) The 'Supportive' Head.

These headteachers accepted the principles of TVEI, and were willing to promote and develop the Initiative in their schools and with their local communities.

(ii) The 'Co-operative' Head.

These headteachers accepted the major principles of TVEI, and were willing to develop most of the criteria within their schools.

(iii) The 'Suspicious' Head.

These headteachers accepted many of the principles of TVEI but were uncertain about the broader implications, and the future prospects for their schools.

(iv) The 'Filibustering' Head.

These headteachers maintained a positive public view of TVEI, but found as many ways as possible of objecting to the developments taking place.

(v) The 'Abdication' Head.

These headteachers gave responsibility for TVEI to someone else, and withdrew from public involvement as much as possible.

Figure 6.4 demonstrates that, of the seven headteachers and principals involved in Powys, three were supportive of the Initiative, one was fairly neutral but willing to co-operate with the LEA's proposals, one was initially suspicious of the scheme but became supportive later when

some of the benefits had become more apparent, one abdicated responsibility for the Initiative to his deputy and made it clear that TVEI was to remain a discrete aspect of the work of the school, and one, while not non co-operative, tended to filibuster and to resist the introduction of the scheme.

The disadvantage, cited by a number of headteachers and principals, that TVEI demanded a specified cohort of pupils, was overcome in two institutions by opening the available opportunities to all pupils. Although there was resistance from the LEA to this line of action being taken, the institutions were allowed to introduce this amendment anyway. A number of heads saw TVEI as a way of providing for disaffected pupils and planned accordingly. Others saw it as a means of supporting changes across the curriculum for all pupils in areas such as work experience. Overall, however, the prime aims of the Initiative were not closely adhered to, particularly with regard to the work-related curriculum and the introduction of more active styles of teaching and learning.

The introduction of TVEI into Powys schools and colleges has to be set, therefore, against a background of powerful institutional heads and principals who were both the prime gate-keepers and change agents in their own institutions. In general, these heads were also low 'risk-takers' and thus tended to filter innovations in ways which preserved the status quo, often arguing that this was because their staff were not prepared for rapid or fundamental change. In this way, the heads

maintained a certain outward paternalism, which was not altogether philanthropic in nature.

Although the headteachers were not generally in a position of having to compete with other schools for pupils, they were none-the-less very much concerned with the image that their own schools presented, particularly in relation to academic performance. This too was influential on the ways in which TVEI was perceived and introduced. The colleges of Further Education were in a slightly different position. Although they were too far apart to seriously compete with one another, they were both in competition with their local schools for post-16 students. This was not a particular problem in the northern consortium since the college and its neighbouring school had established a system of collaborative working, which meant that A-Level work was delivered in the school and vocational work in the college, with the possibility of some students undertaking mixed-target courses in both institutions. The school and college in the south did not have this same arrangement. Here there was a more open competition for students which tended to place a strain on relationships.

The Project Co-ordinator attempted to overcome competitive situations between schools by creating networks for the TVEI institution co-ordinators to operate within. They met rather infrequently in consortium groups, and with the Project Co-ordinator as a whole LEA team. They were also involved in planning development and INSET programmes for the Project. In appointing their school co-ordinators, heads generally looked for individuals who would administer the scheme

effectively, while not necessarily encouraging change to take place. The co-ordinators appointed in three of the institutions were junior members of staff; in one case, a teacher with just two years experience (Fig. 6.5). In three other institutions, the co-ordinators were teachers who previously had worked closely with their heads and were unlikely to usurp their authority or to introduce changes outside the established ethos of the institution. In the remaining school, the co-ordinator was appointed for expediency reasons and was not seen either as a change agent or as a confidante of the headteacher. In this institution the status of TVEI was low. The ways in which the co-ordinators worked, and the attitudes they brought to bear on TVEI were critical to the development of the Project.

Figure 6.5. The backgrounds of the Powys TVEI Co-ordinators.

:	Institution :	Teaching :	Previous post :
:	:	Experience :	:

:	BHS :	35 yrs :	Scale 4 Pastoral Head :

:	CHH :	20 yrs :	Lecturer :

:	MCS :	18 yrs :	Scale 2 Hd of Dept :

:	MCFE :	16 yrs :	Principal Lecturer :

:	NHS :	13 yrs :	Scale 5 Pastoral Head :

:	WHS :	15 yrs :	Scale 4 Pastoral Head :

:	YBD :	2 yrs :	Scale 2 Hd of Dept :

6.6 THE ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL TVEI CO-ORDINATORS.

Each of the TVEI institutions was required to appoint its own co-ordinator from the funds which were made available by the Project. The responsibility for this was given to the headteachers and principals. Since no clear guidelines were provided by the LEA for the roles that the co-ordinators were expected to fulfil, the appointments were idiosyncratic and dependent upon the views that the heads and principals held about TVEI. However, the role of the institution co-ordinator was often crucial to the ways in which TVEI was introduced at the institutional level, and in order to gain as complete a picture as possible of TVEI in Powys, it is important to analyse the ways in which these people operated in the Authority's schools and colleges. Evidence about the roles and functions of the co-ordinators was collected by:

- (i) interviewing the co-ordinators about their roles and responsibilities,
- (ii) analysing the diaries that they kept of their day-to-day activities,
- (iii) analysing the questionnaires that the co-ordinators completed about their roles,
- (v) interviewing each of the headteachers about their perceptions of the roles of their co-ordinators,
- (vi) observing the day-to-day work of the co-ordinators.

The evidence demonstrated that in only two of the seven Powys TVEI institutions did the co-ordinators have any real responsibility for the

Initiative, and these had previously co-operated in terms of curriculum development anyway. In all the other institutions, control over TVEI developments was held by the headteacher (3 schools), principal (1 college) or deputy head (1 school).

Figure 6.6. The Operational Modes of Powys TVEI Co-ordinators.

: Institution :	Co-ordinator mode :	Locus of control :	
=====			
: BHS :	'Administrator' :	Deputy Head :	
: CHH :	'Admin/Head Dept' :	Principal :	
: MCS :	'Administrator' :	Headteacher :	
: MCFE :	'Deputy Head' :	Co-ordinator :	
: NHS :	'Deputy Head' :	Co-ordinator :	
: WHS :	'Head of Dept' :	Headteacher :	
: YBD :	'Administrator' :	Headteacher :	

The institution co-ordinators had generally been appointed by their headteachers for their administrative competence, rather than for their experience in curriculum development. Important decisions about TVEI were made by the heads and principals, and unlike the situation described by Bell (1986), the co-ordinators did not usually have direct links with the Project management since, in Powys, this also tended to operate through the heads and principals. Although the co-ordinators were involved in curriculum and INSET planning, their influence on the management of the Project as a whole was limited. Young (1986) considered that many TVEI co-ordinators were appointed because they would be influential in bringing about changes in teacher attitudes,

however, this was not the case in Powys. Many of the heads wanted to maintain the status quo in their schools, and their co-ordinators presented no threat to them in this respect.

Figure 6.6 illustrates these features in terms of the typology introduced in Chapter 5. It can be seen that in four of the institutions the co-ordinators were 'administrators' having no delegated responsibility or control over their school's TVEI scheme. They were not members of their senior management teams and tended to know little about what was happening. They were usually unable to influence the decisions that were taken. In only two institutions were the co-ordinators afforded this degree of authority; as a result, these people were able to function as 'Deputy Heads'. The locus of control over TVEI in most cases lay with the headteachers and principals or with their deputy heads, rather than with the co-ordinators.

McCabe (1986) introduced a list of the activities that he observed co-ordinators carrying out in a number of TVEI projects. These included:

- (i) presenting courses and programmes to students,
- (ii) monitoring the progress and balance of programmes,
- (iii) ordering and distributing materials and resources,
- (iv) checking on accommodation,
- (v) arranging various in-service events.
- (vi) completing necessary forms and summaries,
- (vii) interviewing and being generally available to students,

- (viii) looking after visitors,
- (ix) organising and persuading colleagues,
- (x) taking a high degree of responsibility for future planning.

The first eight of these activities are largely administrative. The evidence collected during this research showed that the Powys co-ordinators spent much of their time operating in these areas. Their involvement in monitoring developments was generally limited, however, since this was not a feature that was encouraged by either the Project or the institutions. The remaining two activities are more managerial in nature. It was not common to find the Powys co-ordinators substantially engaged in this sort of work. In addition to McCabe's categories, further co-ordinator roles have been identified in Chapter 4. These included:

- administrator,
- pupil counsellor,
- TVEI adviser,
- curriculum developer,
- leader of a teaching team,
- evaluator.

The Powys co-ordinators were only commonly involved with the first two activities on this list. While some were occasionally engaged in the third activity, very few of the co-ordinators ever addressed the last three. As a result the status of most of the co-ordinators was low, and they were not regarded as change agents either within their institutions or by the Project as a whole. While they carried out the

tasks which were required to ensure that the Project was efficiently administered, the amount of development work that they undertook was limited.

The co-ordinators were not given much specific training for their role by the LEA, and opportunities for any subsequent joint co-ordinator development were limited compared with the other two LEAs considered in this thesis. In part, this was due to the problems of distance, but the desire to preserve the autonomy of the individual schools was also an important feature. The networks of co-ordinators which were observed in other parts of the Country (Bell 1986), were not set up effectively by the Powys Project. Although meetings for co-ordinators were held, these were at infrequent intervals, and there was no real attempt made to mould the co-ordinators into a team. It was evident that the Project Co-ordinator realised that the mixed status of the group would be difficult to manage, and he tended to rely on just two of the seven co-ordinators for advice and assistance when planning the County-wide project. These were the co-ordinators from MCFE and NHS who had previously been active in curriculum and organisational change and who brought with them experiences which the Project Co-ordinator found helpful. This situation created something of a division among the group of institution co-ordinators.

In most cases the institution co-ordinators performed their TVEI role in addition to their previous responsibilities, and they were given little time or promotional reward. Compared with co-ordinators nationally, who were generally paid on Allowance D or above (Lines and

Stoney 1989), those in Powys were, in most cases, on substantially lower salary levels. It has been shown in Chapter 4 that an important feature relating to the status of co-ordinators was their standing with regard to their school colleagues. In half of the institutions in Powys, this was generally quite low.

There is little doubt that, in most cases, the Powys TVEI co-ordinators were not effective in bringing about real innovation. However, the reason for this lay more with their headteachers and principals, and with the management of the Project as a whole, than with them as individuals. Bell (1986) and McCabe (1986) have both argued that the TVEI institution co-ordinator was a 'key' post in the management of innovation, but in Powys, this was not generally found to be the case. Except in the case of two institutions, the co-ordinators merely acted as administrative assistants to other staff, who maintained the locus of control over the Initiative. They were not usually concerned with furthering the development of TVEI to any great extent.

In this Chapter, the responses of the institutions in one LEA, to the impact of TVEI, have been considered, and the findings have been analysed in terms of:

- the nature of the LEA;
- the wider implications of the Initiative;
- the nature and management of educational change.

It was pointed out previously that a study of the introduction of TVEI into Powys LEA was chosen as a detailed case study because of the

cultural diversity of the Authority, the range of different sized schools, and the variety of educational practice that existed. Powys was also an LEA that had not been in the vanguard of educational change, and was not, therefore, accustomed to introducing educational initiatives. Since TVEI was concerned, at least initially, with vocationalising the curriculum, it might also have been expected that Powys, with its largely rural population, would not have found any immediate relevance in a scheme of this sort, particularly since the LEA had previously maintained a largely traditional approach to the secondary school curriculum. Taking all these features into account, an analysis of the research evidence leads to the identification of the following characteristics of the Powys TVEI project:

- (i) TVEI was initially accepted by the LEA and its institutions more for the available funding than for its inherent educational objectives. As a result, the coherence between TVEI and the County's educational policies was not closely considered by the LEA.
- (ii) The cultural divergence, between different parts of the County, caused difficulties both for educational management and for inter-school collaboration.
- (iii) There was a fairly laissez-faire attitude exhibited by the LEA towards its institutions, particularly in terms of curriculum development. As a result, there was a considerable variety of

practice to be found within the Authority's schools. This hampered attempts at collaboration.

- (iv) The institutions were largely autonomous, and had become used to working in isolation from the LEA. They tended to rationalise this situation by arguing that the LEA was unwilling to take decisions and that, as a consequence, the onus was on them to do so.
- (v) The communications structure within the LEA was weak, and this prevented dissemination and training programmes from working effectively. Although distance was often quoted as the prime reason for this failure, other issues, particularly the desire of institutions to maintain their independence and cultural identities, were also important.
- (vi) Although TVEI encouraged changes to occur in most of the institutions, these were often idiosyncratic and not always consistent with the aims of the Initiative. Although the institutions were able to use TVEI to meet their own developmental needs, these were not always among the highest priorities for the LEA .
- (vii) The headteachers and principals were powerful figures who ran their institutions in a generally autocratic and traditional manner. The size of the school seemed to make little difference

to this, for although the schools were clearly very different, the ways in which they were led were remarkably similar.

(viii) In the case of Powys, the 'User system' (Bolam 1975) was represented by the individual institutions rather than the LEA. The principal change agents were the headteachers/principals, rather than the institution TVEI institution co-ordinators, who frequently acted as their administrative assistants. The heads/principals were also the principal gate-keepers in their institutions.

(ix) The Further Education colleges seemed to be more willing to use TVEI as a change mechanism than were the schools; possibly because they perceived the need to become more responsive to the demands of students and industry, and to compete more with the traditional academic expectations which were predominant in the County's sixth forms.

(x) Although the MSC was aware of the situation regarding TVEI in Powys, it did very little to assist the Project with its difficulties. Annual Reviews were confrontational and highlighted problem areas. The MSC did not, however, have the capacity to support the Project in an effective way. Eventually the LEA was refused admission to TVEI Extension and this did have the effect of causing elected members to address some of the issues identified previously.

TVEI in Powys was used by the institutions, therefore, as a mechanism for developing their own individual needs, largely independent of each other, and of the LEA. Contractual obligations were seen to be directly to the MSC rather than to the LEA, and the Project as a whole was somewhat ineffectual in controlling and facilitating change. In the next two Chapters, a comparison will be made with two other TVEI projects, in order:

(i) to examine the roles played by the different project co-ordinators, LEA advisers, school co-ordinators and headteachers, and

(ii) to analyse the management of change strategies that were used in each case and the degree of success that was achieved.

CHAPTER 7. THE TVEI PROJECTS IN COVENTRY AND WARWICKSHIRE.

In this Chapter, case studies of the TVEI projects in Coventry and Warwickshire are considered. The ways in which these schemes developed are evaluated, and the roles and functions of the project co-ordinators, institution co-ordinators and headteachers analysed. The evaluation framework used to develop the case study of Powys (Chapter 6) will again be used in this Chapter.

7.1 THE COVENTRY RESPONSE TO TVEI.

(1) The Educational Climate in Coventry.

Coventry LEA has a tradition of educational innovation and development that has been encouraged by a centralist model of Authority management. As one headteacher in the LEA commented:

'Headteachers are appointed in Coventry to develop the Authority's educational policies rather than their own'.

(Begbie 1987)

The City's schools and colleges have become used to accepting and acting upon centralised educational directives, and to working together in a collaborative way. Institutions do not regard themselves as autonomous over most issues, instead they appear to welcome the benefits which shared developments can bring. It is interesting to note, however, that while the institutions saw themselves as part of a collaborative scheme for TVEI, the Authority considered itself strongly independent of the MSC, and sought its own opportunities for producing changes conducive to the perceived needs of the area. There was,

therefore, a certain tension between the LEA and the MSC which surfaced at Annual Reviews, and which indicated that the Authority was generally more interested in developing TVEI for its own needs than for more national purposes.

Coventry is a compact city with a population of some 200,000 people. As a result, all Coventry schools are within easy travelling distance of one another, and it is possible for movement of pupils and teachers between them to be accomplished easily. Prior to TVEI, the LEA had already created a number of consortium arrangements within the city to enable courses to be run between institutions (eg for CPVE and minority A-Levels), and strategies of this kind were accepted and, often welcomed, by headteachers.

Coventry was once a prosperous industrial city, specialising in light engineering and manufacturing industry. The city prided itself upon its industrial heritage, and was keen to foster the training of its workforce. However, with the decline of the manufacturing base, and the corresponding disappearance of traditional jobs and traditional industries, the unemployment situation increased dramatically, and has led to long-term problems. The need, therefore, to re-establish a sound economy for Coventry, based upon real job opportunities for young people, was clearly a goal at the forefront of the policies of the City's politicians, and perhaps explained the readiness with which the City co-operated with the MSC in exploring new avenues for training and employment.

The record that the City had for maintaining its position in the forefront of educational development encouraged an innovative attitude to grow among its schools, so that new initiatives were commonly to be found operating within them. In recent years, for instance, Coventry has been involved as an Authority with:

- the Oxford Certificate of Educational Achievement (OCEA),
- modular approaches to the teaching of the humanities,
- the DES project for lower attaining pupils (LAPP),
- community education.

The schools also explored a whole range of curricular initiatives, frequently assisted and encouraged by the LEA. These initiatives were supported in Coventry through a well developed and resourced Teachers' Centre, located centrally in the city. Coventry was also able to appoint a large number of support personnel, advisers, teacher advisers and curriculum development staff, both from its own funds and also as a result of the various initiatives with which the City had been involved. Through the work of these staff, a considerable amount of school-based support became possible to follow up INSET activities, or to respond to the perceived needs of institutions. The climate in Coventry schools tended to be one that responded to support and innovation, and anticipated that inputs would be made from external agencies.

The City was also active in creating its own development programme. The LEA's philosophy of education was clearly stated in the document: *Comprehensive Education for Life* (Coventry 1982). This philosophy, was

based on the view that education should be seen as continuing throughout a person's life, and it influenced the way in which the City developed opportunities for young people and adults to become involved in their continuing education. The concept of community education was well rehearsed in Coventry and provided a point of access, for groups and individuals, to the City's schools. There were open-access classes in the secondary schools, and careers officers and centres were attached to the schools, rather than being centrally based. A particular aspect of this philosophy, was that students should be able to take courses for which the credit they achieved could be banked for later assessment purposes, that is transferable course credits. This encouraged the development of a modular curriculum in which students could be given credit for each individual module that they completed. When enough had been accumulated, it would be possible for students to encash credits for a qualification. Coventry LEA experimented with modular approaches in humanities, and also, to a lesser extent, in mathematics and science, prior to the introduction of TVEI.

Coventry, therefore, was an innovative Authority in which practitioners in the schools and colleges were well used to testing out new initiatives. Collaboration seemed to be welcomed and expected, and support for the developments which were occurring appeared to be present, and to be effectively delivered. The educational ideology being followed in Coventry received considerable support from both practitioners and politicians. While institutions acknowledged that changes would be largely introduced from the centre, they equally

expected that their individual programmes of change would be supported by the LEA. There was, however, an expectation that such changes would need eventually to be shared and used for the good of all the City's institutions, and that the funding of individual change was for the eventual benefit of all.

It was hardly surprising, therefore, that TVEI was welcomed by the Coventry LEA as another opportunity to innovate and bring about change. It will be apparent, from what has been said already, that the structure adopted by the MSC for the introduction of TVEI was not dissimilar to many of those features already operating in Coventry: ie a desire to achieve a more relevant curriculum for students, collaborative developments between institutions, and novel modes of accreditation. There were a number of politically influential people in the City who were concerned about the effects that TVEI might have on educational provision. For instance would it be a means of reducing the balance of the curriculum for some pupils in favour of a vocationally orientated training scheme? The LEA was confident, however, that it could use TVEI to its own advantage, and with the funding available, achieve what it desired. A former Chairman of the Coventry Education Committee has commented that these considerations led Coventry into using the possibilities of TVEI as a tool in the education of pupils of all abilities (Lister 1986).

Coventry LEA had already had considerable experience of working with the MSC on other initiatives such as YTS, and they had jointly created a Work Experience base ('TOPSHOP') in a disused factory premises. The

City's proposals for entry to TVEI Extension, expressed this in the following way:

'The history of Coventry's collaboration with the Manpower Services Commission began with the recognition of the need to improve education and training for 14-18 year olds.'

(Booth 1987 page 1)

Although there was also an apparent understanding that the two sides could work amicably together, certain tensions arose over the City's insistence on pursuing some of its own idiosyncratic developments. There was also an underlying belief that the aims of TVEI were ones to which the City already subscribed, and which, in practice, were already being introduced through an 'Education for Life'. In some ways, therefore, TVEI was perceived merely as an opportunity for the City to obtain more funding to enable it to continue what had already been started.

(ii) The Direction of TVEI in Coventry.

Schools were encouraged by the LEA to bid for inclusion in the TVEI scheme. The decision over which schools to involve was taken by the Education Committee. The LEA felt it necessary to handle the issue of which schools to include in TVEI with considerable sensitivity, because those institutions which had submitted proposals for entry to the first round of TVEI (1983), had been upset at not being included when the LEA's bid had been rejected on that occasion. The evaluators of the Coventry project argued that the inclusion of particular schools in TVEI could be seen as:

'a reward for past endeavours'.

(Braithwaite et al 1985 p11)

The Chief Adviser for Coventry was quoted as saying:

'The schools concerned were chosen for their achievements in curriculum development, their capacity to respond to challenge, and their proven involvement in the local community'.

(Braithwaite et al 1985 p11)

However the evaluators questioned whether the selection of schools was:

'based on typicality, so that trial in representative settings can lead to confident expectations of transferability'.

(Braithwaite et al 1985 p11)

It was decided that the required cohort of 250 pupils would be contained within three schools on the eastern side of the City. One of these was in a fairly prosperous area, while the other two were in social priority areas; one of the social priority schools also had a substantial British Asian population.

It was further decided, as a consequence of this particular arrangement, that the Further Education college on the eastern side of the City would form part of the TVEI consortium, and develop its own 16-18 programme. Prior to this being achieved, it was anticipated that the college would be involved in establishing TVEI-based link-courses with the schools. Thus:

'Coventry LEA. because of its geographical compactness and pattern of educational provision, found itself in a strong position to evolve efficient and effective consortia or resource-sharing arrangements'

(Braithwaite et al 1985 page 6)

Another feature of the Coventry TVEI scheme was that it was to be managed by a Project Director appointed for this purpose on a Headteacher Group 8 salary. It is interesting to note the particular choice of title for this position, since the implication was one of a central controller, rather than a mere manager, of the Initiative.

Although decisions about the ways in which the scheme would eventually operate were taken centrally, institutions were involved in this process. There was a reasonable amount of central direction over the structures which were set up, and an identifiable commonality between the TVEI schemes operating in the institutions. For instance, each of the schools operated the same modular curriculum using modules that had been produced collaboratively. There was also a common pattern of work experience, and supported self-study techniques were developed simultaneously in each of the three schools.

The eventual model produced by the Project Director and Senior Adviser for TVEI in the City, was very much in line with earlier Coventry philosophy. As a result the modular curriculum was a central component (Harwood et al 1987). This was designed to:

- (i) encourage pupil choice,
- (ii) generate greater opportunities for negotiation between pupil and teacher,
- (iii) create opportunities for teachers to change to more 'active' forms of learning.

The notion of accumulating modular credits was also probably influential in this decision, although the idea did not receive support from the accrediting bodies, and hence did not, at the time, become operational.

'Coventry has the opportunity of using TVEI to capitalise on existing growth points. Coventry schools were already involved with Active Tutorial approaches, with the Oxford Certificate of

Educational Achievement (OCEA) and with the Authority's own work experience scheme - Topshop'.

(Braithwaite et al 1985, page 6)

Control of the funding for TVEI developments was strongly maintained at the centre. For instance, while schools could introduce new subjects onto the curriculum, or enhance 'old' ones, this had to be generally in line with the commonly agreed scheme, and had to be discussed between participating institutions. Senior staff from the schools (heads and/or school TVEI co-ordinators) met regularly, and potential developments were discussed, and decisions taken, in this forum. Although it was not necessarily the case that identical changes were taking place in the three schools, any variations were due to a positive opting out from the agreement, rather than to a lack of shared decision making.

(iii) The Support for TVEI in Coventry.

The Project Director worked closely with the City's advisers and support teams, many of whom had been involved with the initial development of the scheme. This was particularly the case where they had some input into the curriculum development groups formed to produce the City's modular curriculum programme. It was not, however, apparent that all advisers were involved in this way and initially TVEI was an add-on initiative rather than one which became fully integrated into the educational philosophy of the City. Gradually the Initiative did become absorbed more into this philosophy, but the HMI report on Coventry TVEI supports this view of a lack of coherence between the Project and the work of the Authority's advisers:

'It would help this development if the LEA Advisory Service developed an overall policy towards the scheme. At present many

advisers and advisory teachers are working closely and effectively with teachers involved in certain aspects of the project, but their work would be aided by the support of a clear policy for the whole service.'

(HMI 1986 page 13)

The Project Director had administrative support from the start, but was otherwise on his own. However, a curriculum development officer (a seconded teacher) was soon appointed to both assist the curriculum development groups and also to steer the path of the modular curriculum through the Examination Boards. Later in the life of the Project another seconded teacher was appointed to work on pupil counselling and Supported Self-study techniques. The latter development was an important initiative in its own right within Coventry TVEI, particularly as a support mechanism for the modular scheme. In addition, the teacher adviser appointed by the LEA to encourage Equal Opportunities worked closely with the Project in attempting to meet the varying needs of TVEI. When it became apparent that Coventry would be successful in its bid to join TVEI Extension, the Project Director was allowed to work full time on the planning for this, and a teacher who had previously been closely involved with TVEI, as a school co-ordinator, was seconded to take over the running of the pilot project.

The central TVEI team was small, therefore, consisting only of the Director, a curriculum development officer and a teacher adviser for equal opportunities. As a consequence of this, and also because the schools had become used to innovation taking place, it was possible to observe the institutions accepting a major responsibility for the changes which occurred. Certainly the impetus for change in the

schools seemed to come as much from the heads as it did from the Project Director, and was channelled through their regular meetings.

The institution co-ordinators were an important group within the development of TVEI in Coventry. They were all appointed from the existing staff of the pilot institutions, and had already established considerable status, both with their colleagues in their own schools, and with others across the City. One of the co-ordinators was already a deputy head, two of the co-ordinators were appointed to Senior Teacher posts, and the co-ordinator in the college was a Senior Lecturer. All the co-ordinators were members of their senior management teams, and were given delegated responsibility by their heads for the development of TVEI in their own institutions. They operated as 'Deputy Head' co-ordinators. They were able to make decisions about TVEI which affected the management of their schools; they could make adjustments to their institutional TVEI budgets; and were able to liaise with Heads of Departments about resources, courses and students. The co-ordinators met frequently as a group and, as a result of their capability to generate change, these meetings became decision making occasions. The co-ordinators formed the principal planning group for the implementation of TVEI in the City. This group complemented the meetings held with headteachers and principals in deciding the major strategy for TVEI in Coventry. The co-ordinators all remained in their posts for the duration of the pilot scheme, although one of them was then appointed to assist the Project Director in his preparations for the introduction of the Extension phase of TVEI.

The school which served the more prosperous part of the City had developed a good reputation with parents, by providing a largely traditional set of courses in which pupils had obtained considerable examination success. In the case of this particular school, TVEI was not welcomed to the same extent as it was in the other two establishments, since the Initiative was seen as possibly eroding the currency of some traditional subjects. In this school, there was a degree of antipathy to TVEI which prevented the scheme from becoming full implemented until the beginning of the second year.

The Coventry project had planned to set up subject centres in each TVEI school which would then be available for use by pupils from the other schools. In practice this did not materialise, since schools were reluctant to send their pupils to the other establishments. Problems with organising timetables and transport contributed to this, as did the differences in ethos which existed between the schools. A certain amount of movement of pupils between the schools and the Further Education college took place, although this tended to be more usual post-16. Although collaboration was welcomed for the opportunities it gave for development, parochial attitudes were often of considerable significance to the ways in which schools involved their pupils.

The Project was able to utilise the experience of planning and delivering INSET which already existed in Coventry. As a result of this, staff development appeared to be highly influential on the ways in which the Project moved forward. In addition, the INSET sessions organised by the Project were shared with the non-TVEI schools and

colleges in the City, and hence allowed a dissemination platform to be created for teachers. However, the TVEI schools were not altogether accepted in this respect by the others, since they were the recipients of considerable funding which was not available to the non-pilot schools, and some antipathy therefore existed. Modular course materials produced by TVEI were, however, made available to the other schools, and this did serve as a mechanism for breaking down barriers.

(iv) The Future integration of TVEI in Coventry.

Within the life of the Coventry pilot project, TVEI had been opened up to all 4th Year pupils (Year 10) in two of the three schools involved, so that there was no real distinction between the TVEI cohort and other pupils. This action reflected the way in which TVEI had become integral to the philosophy of these two schools, at least at senior management level. In the other school, which was initially somewhat suspicious of the scheme, TVEI did eventually achieve a higher profile, and was not then seen as such a threat to academic excellence, as it was initially.

The acceptance of TVEI in Coventry was largely due to the way in which it had been possible to adapt the ideas of the Initiative, and to mould them to local needs. Schools were, for instance, able to develop their own modules (such as Leisure Studies) which might not have been initially considered possible in a technically and vocationally orientated scheme. It was also apparent, that a number of the processes inherent in the aims of TVEI, such as active learning and negotiated curricula, were adopted by the schools to a considerable

extent. This resulted from the support of their senior management teams, encouraged by the Project. An informal comment made by the Coventry Project Director that:

'TVEI in Coventry is mainly E and less T and V',

(Booth 1988)

was perhaps relevant to this, since the general flavour of the Initiative related more to educational outcomes than to technical and vocational ones.

The first Coventry submission for TVEI Extension funding was turned down in 1986, partly because of problems in relation to 16-18 education provision, and also as a result of the plans, for phasing the introduction of the scheme across the City, being too ambitious. In fact, a large number of the submissions for a 1987 start to TVEI Extension were turned down nationally, and Coventry did not appear too alarmed by the MSC's reaction. The second submission in 1987 was accepted without any major changes being required, and the City entered the Extension phase of TVEI in September 1988.

(v) TVEI Management in Coventry.

The management structure for TVEI in Coventry therefore operated from the centre, with the institutions collaborating over developments, but being required to work to commonly agreed guidelines. In terms of the theoretical framework for the management of TVEI already considered in Chapter 5, the Coventry Project can best be seen as one in which the LEA management style was largely based on a Consortium model (Beattie

1985), with the Director taking the role of a 'Manager'. This view is supported by Braithwaite et al (1985), who point to the Coventry co-ordinator's main mode of action being that of a 'Manager', although with some tendency to act as a 'Competing Head'; and to the Authority acting through a consortium model, with some inclination to the centre-periphery mode.

The characteristics of the 'Consortium Model' include, a uniformity of structure, collaborative developments, and a timetabling matrix. The Coventry scheme demonstrated many of these features. For instance, there was a clearly recognisable form across the institutions and any individual variations were slight and had to be mutually agreed. The main thrust of the Coventry approach involved a modular curriculum, with modules being produced on a collaborative basis for use in each institution. Accreditation for the modular approach had been approved by the Midland Examination Group (MEG) on a whole-LEA basis, and individual schools needed to meet these requirements on behalf of their pupils. The rules governing the combinations of modules for accreditation purposes were so complex, that they could only be achieved through the use of agreed syllabuses and an adherence to the accepted scheme. Thus it was possible to observe pupils pursuing similar modular courses, with the same examination intentions, in all three TVEI pilot schools. Although the mode of delivery of the modules might have been expected to differ as a result of the individual approaches of the teachers in the schools, because the modules were produced collaboratively, there was a considerable amount of commonality of practice in the use of classroom methodology.

Unlike some TVEI projects which operated on a consortium basis (eg Solihull and Clwyd), there was not a highly developed timetable matrix in operation within the Coventry scheme, and pupils tended not to move between schools to any great extent. Although there were aspirations at one time to set up 'key' modules in some schools and to offer these across the consortium, this was not developed, largely due to a reticence by heads to enter into a scheme with high pupil mobility. This was also related, to some extent, to negative parental views about their children moving between sites. Some common timetabling did exist, however, mainly to facilitate movement between the schools and the college, particularly in the post-16 phase.

The consortium's power base lay more with the LEA than with the institutions, and there were elements of the centre/periphery model in operation. Decisions had to be agreed by the Project Director, who also kept close control over resource allocation and funding. In this way the role of the Director was akin to that of a 'Competing Head' since he worked closely with the pilot headteachers to ensure that there was a commonality of structure among their schemes. On the other hand, the Director did not become over-involved with the details of the scheme at the institutional level, preferring to leave this to the institution co-ordinators, for whom he was very much the line-manager. The Project Director, therefore, fulfilled many of the criteria of the 'Manager' mode (Beattie 1985), by:

- taking a non-expert role,
- leaving detail to school co-ordinators,
- motivating and demonstrating aims of the project to individuals,

- facilitating change.

In addition, he competed with the institution heads to ensure that a high degree of uniformity was actually established. Thus because of the background to educational management in Coventry, the change strategies adopted within this project tended towards a power-coercive model. It was possible for the schools to operate successfully within the consortium scheme that developed, and for the headteachers to introduce TVEI without the need for much intervention, at the institutional level, by the Project Director. As argued previously in this Chapter, Coventry's educational institutions were used to receiving instructions from the LEA about the way in which they should operate, and they tended to comply with these directives. Headteachers in Coventry schools appeared to identify strongly with the City's aims for education, and to accept that they were appointed to run their schools in line with the policies of the LEA. Thus in terms of TVEI, the Project Director did not have to interfere with the heads' management of the Initiative, since the policy related to TVEI was largely accepted, shared and delivered. However, the power-coercive model appears to have been different in the case of TVEI, since the pressure for compliance came not from legal authority, but from the availability of the substantial funding. There is little doubt that this pressure also had an effect on Coventry schools.

During the pilot phase of TVEI, the Project Director had little real alternative other than to become closely involved in the day-to-day running of the project, since his central team was small. With the advent of Extension, however, and a consequent growth in the available

support, the Director began to take on an 'Inspector/evaluator' role. He became more concerned with the quality of the work being achieved, and with setting up structures for evaluating this. In part, this change also reflected his inability to continue as a Competing-head/Manager for all the institutions which were then involved, and his clear intention to maintain a direct involvement in the work of the institutions meant that he did not wish to take on a 'Chief Executive' role.

The considerable advisory support available in the City also helped to facilitate change, particularly through the involvement that advisers had in staff and curriculum development programmes, and through the dissemination of new ideas. This support, however, tended to be less coercive, with schools and teachers being offered advice and encouragement, rather than directives. In many respects, this approach probably helped alleviate some of the excessive tensions arising from a centre/periphery base, since teachers appeared to welcome the available support, and were themselves able to work with the various curriculum development groups that were established.

The developments taking place within TVEI in Coventry were generally supported by the MSC at Annual Reviews. These meetings were usually friendly and non-confrontational events, at which the partnership between the LEA and the MSC was mentioned frequently. While the LEA demonstrated its independence from the MSC on these occasions, by restating its own educational philosophy, both sides seemed to want to gain from each others experience. The MSC did not appear to attempt to

manage the Coventry Project, and their role was mainly administrative and advisory.

7.2 THE WARWICKSHIRE RESPONSE TO TVEI.

(1) The Educational Climate for the Introduction of TVEI.

Warwickshire is a fairly large Authority. Its population is concentrated in three main centres: Leamington and Warwick (Central Area), Rugby (Eastern Area) and Nuneaton (Northern Area). The remaining population is spread throughout the rest of the County, but particularly, in the south, around Stratford-upon-Avon (Southern Area). The population of Warwickshire is not large compared with many Shire Counties. A survey of Warwickshire's County structure highlights a large degree of educational plurality. Considerable autonomy has been given to the 4 separate areas of the County, reflecting the Divisional status which some of these areas held prior to Local Government reorganisation in 1974. At the time when this research was carried out, each area had a different form of school organisation:

Northern Area: First schools, Middle schools, 12-16 comprehensive schools, and a 12-18 comprehensive school,

Southern Area: Primary schools, Secondary Modern (High) schools and Grammar schools,

Eastern Area: First schools, Middle schools, Secondary Modern (High) schools, Grammar schools and a Bilateral school,

Central Area: First schools, Middle schools and 12-18 comprehensive schools.

The diversity of educational institutions which existed in the County reflected a situation in which no particular ideology or educational structure was paramount, and in which decision making had been devolved to some extent to individual areas. The LEA had tended to allow individual growth in its institutions, without ever fully abrogating its responsibility for them. While institutional autonomy was an important feature of the educational scene in the County, this had probably declined over the previous ten years as the LEA attempted to gain a greater degree of control. Historically, the authority of headteachers (particularly those in secondary schools) was a powerful influence on the ways in which the LEA operated.

The County had not been slow to react to change. The diversity of educational institutions indicated a willingness by the LEA to try out different structures and to innovate. The Authority had, in the past, been willing to support curriculum and organisational development, but had not forced this upon individual institutions. Instead, the lead had generally come from the schools, often with some support and persuasion from advisers and officers. The County had a number of fairly successful Teachers Centres which were a valuable focus for educational developments in the County, and, possibly as a result of this, there had also been developments in the LEA which had grown from within. For instance, pupil profiling schemes were being piloted in the County before the start of TVEI, as were work experience and school/industry links.

Although support was available for initiatives, there was a tendency for these to be suggested by schools rather than being imposed by the LEA. The amount of collaboration between schools was not well established prior to TVEI, and in some ways was actually marred by a competition for pupil numbers in areas with falling rolls. This feature was particularly prevalent in the central area where all-through comprehensive schools competed for sixth form numbers in order to protect their viability. This situation was one which was present throughout the TVEI pilot scheme, and influenced its development. Collaboration, which occurred on a superficial level, was often disrupted as a result of fundamental competitive situations.

'The individual schools have benefited from the leadership of strongly committed heads who, whilst willingly implementing LEA policy and operating professionally, have nevertheless each been anxious to give their own school a particular identity which would distinguish it from its neighbours and prove attractive to particular pupils and parents.'

(Jones 1985 page 1)

In terms of the Chin (1967) and Etzioni (1961) typology of management of change models, Warwickshire is an example of 'Normative/Re-educative', since there were clear signs of the LEA trying to establish a two-way communication process with its schools and attempting, through its advisers and officers, to change attitudes among teachers through persuasion and influence. Although the LEA used a degree of coercion in selecting its original cohort of schools for TVEI, this was related more to the financial inducement offered by TVEI than to any attempt to force compliance in other ways. Whilst the LEA did not attempt to direct schools in the ways in which TVEI should be managed, neither did it leave schools to their own devices. There was a considered strategy for providing support and for ensuring that

institutions did make progress. The LEA was keen on setting up monitoring mechanisms to measure the progress made by its institutions although, since it was unwilling to upset its headteachers in the process, attempts at evaluation were generally rather low key. None of the three models proposed by Beattie (1985), for the management of TVEI schemes, fully applies to Warwickshire. The Project was not tightly controlled from the centre. Nor was it left largely to the institutions themselves to manage. Although there was an attempt made to encourage the pilot institutions to work as a consortium, the tensions which existed between the schools did not allow this to happen effectively. The Warwickshire scheme can best be described as 'controlled autonomy', for although the schools were given considerable freedom to act as they thought appropriate, they were prevented from achieving independence by the intervention of the Project Co-ordinator, who used the power of the contract with the MSC to hold them together. The Co-ordinator was keen to use evaluation outcomes as a way of achieving control, and he adopted a range of management strategies to successfully intervene in the work of the institutions.

The County had not previously been involved in curriculum developments of the magnitude of TVEI, preferring to leave the initiative more to its schools. It was perhaps surprising that Warwickshire submitted a scheme for TVEI since there were very few elements within the Initiative which had previously been recognised as important by the LEA, although systems for Recording Achievement had been pursued to some extent. There can be little doubt that, as was the case with

Powys, the attraction for Warwickshire was the availability of the considerable funding.

(ii) The Direction of TVEI in Warwickshire.

The County TVEI submission was produced by an education officer with responsibility for post-16 education, and was confined to the central area of the County. This decision was based on a number of factors:

- 1) This was the only area of the County which had 12-18 comprehensive schools. (At the time of the submission there was considerable doubt over whether the MSC would accept a mixture of Grammar and Secondary Modern schools into a TVEI scheme).
- ii) The area allowed for a geographically compact consortium of schools to be set up.
- iii) It allowed the LEA to have more control over a number of schools which had previously enjoyed considerable autonomy through the influence of powerful headteachers.

In fact, it was the last feature which caused many problems for the development of TVEI in Warwickshire, since friction was generated between the heads of the pilot schools and the Project management during most of the life of the Initiative. This friction occurred as a result of the conflict between schools wanting the right to determine their own development plans, and to be free to use the available funding as they wished, and the Project's intention to produce

collaborative developments between the institutions. The collaboration which did occur tended to be at a level which was unlikely seriously to affect the autonomy of the institutions involved, and was mainly concerned with course development. While the balance of control shifted somewhat towards the Project Co-ordinator, as the need to deliver TVEI in line with agreed criteria became more pressing, the autonomy of individual headteachers was largely maintained.

It was decided by the LEA that the cohort of 250 pupils, required by the MSC, would be spread between five of the seven Central Area schools. While the two schools which were not included were some distance away from the other five, they were unhappy about not being involved. The college which served the Central Area, together with the college in the Southern Area of the County, were invited to eventually enter the scheme at 16+, and in addition to assist with curriculum development and course provision pre-16.

When the scheme was first introduced there did not appear to be a strong commitment to the aims and objectives of TVEI by the elected members and officers of the LEA. The emphasis in the schools was largely on an academic curriculum for most pupils, in which prominence was given to high status subjects within the Arts and Sciences. Practical subjects, such as craft and technology, were seen as benefiting only a small group of pupils who were unable to gain from a more academic diet. The division of post-16 education was generally well defined, with school sixth forms providing the bulk of the

academic provision (A-Level courses) and the FE colleges the vocational courses (BTEC and City and Guilds). There was also little direct dialogue at the time between these two areas of provision. Those aspects of the curriculum being enhanced by TVEI were not commonly to be found across institutions in Warwickshire. For instance, although work experience was well established in some schools, this was by no means the norm, and this development was one that had not previously received a great deal of support from the LEA. Although links between education and industry had become well established in the Eastern Area of the County, they were less common elsewhere. Where they had been developed, it was as a result of the work of the schools and local employer organisations, rather than any intervention by the LEA. As a result, TVEI did not fit easily into the Warwickshire LEA's approach to education. Rather than being seized upon as a major opportunity for providing a more relevant and balanced curriculum for all pupils, it was perceived as just another curriculum innovation (albeit one which provided a large amount of resources) which required little attention to be paid to it. In most of the schools, TVEI was perceived as a project for pupils of average and below average ability, and the scheme was often marketed (covertly in some instances) in this way. In one pilot school, the headteacher stated that he had already been following the aims of TVEI successfully for 20 years and that there would be little observable difference in his school, except for the extra resources which TVEI would make available; in effect he referred only to his lower attaining pupils.

The original County submission had been prepared without full discussion or negotiation with the schools, and their entry into the scheme was largely decided for them. The resulting perception that institutions had of the LEA attempting to force them to join the scheme, was another factor which caused friction to develop between the institutions and the Project. To reduce this friction, the schools were initially given considerable autonomy over how they managed TVEI within their own establishments. This caused the Project to be somewhat fragmented and meant that collaborative developments were difficult to achieve. The organisation of the Project had been determined by the author of the LEA's submission before the Project Co-ordinator was appointed. The major task for the Co-ordinator, when he took up his post, was to address the issues of school autonomy and lack of collaborative development.

It was decided that the Warwickshire TVEI scheme would be managed by a Project Co-ordinator who was recruited from a County school for this purpose. When the Co-ordinator was first appointed, he was paid on the salary scale of a Deputy Headteacher Group 10, a feature which had very clear implications, not only for how he was perceived by the schools, but also for the way in which the Project itself developed. It was clear, for instance, that heads of the pilot schools saw the Co-ordinator as having a lower status than themselves, and having a role which was that of a facilitator for their schemes, rather than the director of the work going on. This attitude was also common among LEA officers, and the Co-ordinator had to strive very hard, early on in the life of the Project, to establish the power base from which he later

operated. A further difficulty for the Co-ordinator was that the scheme which was in operation was one that he had inherited, since this had been completed before his appointment. However, despite the difficulties that the Co-ordinator encountered, he was able to develop many of the objectives required by the MSC (eg a shared work experience scheme, the provision of computer equipment to all schools, and residential experience for all TVEI pupils).

In common with other TVEI projects a number of the features which had been included in the original submission to the MSC were amended. These related particularly to the composition of the central management team, and the timescales in which specific objectives were to be achieved. However, the latitude available to the Project Co-ordinator to amend the scheme was limited, since the major decisions with regard to finance and resourcing had been made previously. In addition, the decision to give considerable autonomy to the schools, was a framework within which he found it difficult to operate. After 18 months in post, the Co-ordinator was promoted to a Headteacher Group 9 salary, and was eventually made a member of the County Advisory Team.

(iii) Support for TVEI in Warwickshire.

The Advisory Team in Warwickshire was not generally very closely linked with TVEI developments, perhaps because they saw the Initiative as a rather marginal matter. The central team for TVEI in the County consisted only of the Project Co-ordinator with back-up administrative staff, and a careers officer appointed particularly to look after TVEI work experience. When he began his work, the Co-ordinator was in a

somewhat isolated position. He was neither a member of the Advisory Team, nor was he accepted as an officer of the LEA. Instead he was seen as an individual attempting to manage another MSC initiative, similar to the Youth Training Scheme. Since schemes of this sort were given low status in the County, this caused further difficulties for the Co-ordinator in his attempts to raise the profile of TVEI. As a result, the early developments which took place through TVEI were an amalgam of the different ways in which TVEI was being developed by the schools, and the influence and direction that the Co-ordinator was gradually able to exert.

It now appears that the role taken by the Co-ordinator, within the Warwickshire scheme, was crucial to the ways in which TVEI became assimilated into the individual institutions. The personality of the Co-ordinator was critical to how the scheme eventually unfolded. In the circumstances which existed in the County it would have been possible for him to have accepted the fact that both the schools and the LEA anticipated that the history of school autonomy would be maintained, and that he would simply need to administer the scheme within the agreed framework. The stance adopted by the Co-ordinator was complex, and contained all three elements of the models which have been described by Beattie (1985). At some points, and in some circumstances, he operated as a 'Manager', when he took a non-expert role, left the details of the scheme to his school co-ordinators, attempted to motivate staff and to demonstrate the aims of the Project, and facilitated change for others. This approach was used, for instance, when he wanted to develop team work or to enhance the status

of his school co-ordinators. At other stages in the life of the Project he acted as an 'Adviser', when he worked directly with the schools, assisting and persuading, but not necessarily taking on a directive role. This approach was used with curriculum development groups or individual classroom teachers, when he was attempting to introduce new ways of working. Perhaps crucially for the ways in which the Project did eventually develop, at other times he operated as a 'Competing Head' with the headteachers and principals in their institutions. At these points he attempted to take over the control of the initiative at the institutional level, and dealt with every aspect of the scheme through the school co-ordinators who often saw themselves responsible to him in line-management terms. The fact that he was often successful in his take-over bids was, however, more a feature of his personality than of his official status.

The Co-ordinator adopted the 'Inspector/evaluator' role. He regarded himself as the principal evaluator for the Project (Jones G 1985), and set up structures which allowed him better access to information about what was happening in the institutions. This was achieved through research-based studies involving questionnaires, interviews and classroom observation. The Co-ordinator used the resulting evaluation evidence as a mechanism for encouraging change within the LEA. The external evaluation of TVEI in the Authority had originally been carried out by the University of Warwick working in conjunction with the County's advisers and inspectors. However, this process seemed to have little impact on the schools, except that they viewed evaluation as more of a threat than a benefit. This attitude towards evaluation

was also found among staff in the schools during the period that this research was being carried out. The evaluation studies of the Warwickshire TVEI project, which form part of this research, were regarded by the Co-ordinator as a valuable contribution to the work of the Project. The results of the studies provided evidence about the work of the Project which the Co-ordinator then used as a basis for allocating development funding to the schools. Thus the local evaluation reports produced for the Project were used as accountability instruments, and as aids to the Co-ordinator gaining increased control over the institutions.

The combination of roles adopted by the Co-ordinator, together with his use of argument, persuasion and control, was critical to the way in which he was able to develop more ownership over TVEI among staff in the institutions. He was able to encourage collaborative developments. One of the obvious features of TVEI in Warwickshire related to a struggle for control, and the effect that TVEI had on people's attitudes towards educational management was probably more fundamental than many of the curriculum innovations which were taking place. The Co-ordinator was able to use his considerable experience and personality to effect collaborative development, and as a result TVEI became a central focus to further LEA growth.

TVEI became a major part of the LEA's development plans in the Extension phase, and as a result, the Co-ordinator was able to create a larger team than he had during the Pilot stage. This allowed him to take on more of a 'Chief Executive' role, and to direct the work of the

Project through a team of four TVEI Area Co-ordinators, and a support team of six advisory teachers. The Co-ordinator reduced his 'Manager' and 'Competing Head' roles while, at the same time, increasing his 'Adviser' and 'Inspector/evaluator' roles. In terms of management models, the Warwickshire Co-ordinator provides an interesting case study since he did not adopt one single approach, but changed and blended his styles at different times according to his own needs and the needs of the Project. Since this seemed to work with some success, it might be argued that the 'pure' role models suggested by Beattie (1985) and modified in Chapter 5, cannot normally be expected to operate successfully when used in isolation. It is their ability to produce subtle nuances of style, and to adapt approaches to needs, that appear to be the hallmarks of successful TVEI co-ordinators.

At the institution level, the roles of the school and college co-ordinators were largely determined by their heads and principals. Most of the co-ordinators functioned within a 'Head of Department' mode, ie they were given the responsibility for running the TVEI scheme within their own establishments, subject to the criteria laid down previously by their headteachers. Although they were able to take decisions within the agreed framework, they were not given the delegated authority to make decisions affecting school policy. Meetings of the co-ordinators were not decision making occasions, therefore, but rather opportunities for issues to be raised for future consideration at the institutional level. Although the co-ordinators were all responsible for their TVEI budgets, they were not in a position to change priorities from previously agreed objectives. One of the college co-

ordinators was also the Vice Principal. He was able to operate as a 'Deputy Head' co-ordinator having been given delegated responsibility for the development of TVEI in his college. The other co-ordinators were all Senior Teachers in their schools who had been promoted internally. In all but one case the co-ordinators remained in post for the whole life of the Project. The co-ordinators all carried considerable personal as well as hierarchical status in their institutions and were in a position strongly to influence the events that went on in relation to TVEI. However, only two of the co-ordinators were members of their senior management teams, the others had to operate through a deputy headteacher or were responsible to the headteacher personally. Collectively, the institution co-ordinators formed an influential group in the area and were well led by the Project Co-ordinator who was keen to establish a strong group identity among his team, and to use them as a pressure group for future TVEI developments.

(iv) The Future Integration of TVEI in Warwickshire.

TVEI had little obvious impact on the Warwickshire TVEI pilot schools. There were examples of curriculum innovation (for instance in Food and Accommodation Studies), a large staff development programme, and increased collaboration between institutions. In many respects, however, the schools remained very much as they were before TVEI began. Considerable suspicion still existed between the various institutions; teaching and learning styles were largely unchanged, and those developments which had taken place tended to have been rather marginal to the work of many of the staff in the institutions. It has to be

acknowledged, however, that TVEI had an effect on the ways in which the LEA perceived its own role within curriculum and organisational development. There were noticeable shifts in attitude by staff in the schools towards innovation and LEA directed developments. For the LEA, TVEI became more a lever for control over its schools and colleges, than an agent for curriculum development alone. The developments taking place through TVEI occurred at a time when there were changes in the senior management structure of the LEA. These contributed favourably to the incorporation of TVEI into the working of the Authority.

The relationship between the MSC and the LEA was initially somewhat strained. TVEI Annual Reviews indicated that the Commission were unhappy with the lack of collaborative development between schools. As a result, pressure was placed on officers of the LEA to achieve a greater uniformity of approach. Much of the criticism at Annual Reviews was levelled at officers rather than at the Project Co-ordinator. The MSC appeared to support the strategy being developed by the Co-ordinator and encouraged the LEA to emulate his approach. This placed the Co-ordinator in a difficult position since he was then seen by some officers as an agent of the MSC. When the Co-ordinator had been able to influence developments more, and had gained a greater consistency of approach between the different institutions, the relationship between the LEA and the MSC improved. The amount of support that the Project had from Regional Advisers was limited. They were reliant for their knowledge of what was happening in the Project on the information provided by the Co-ordinator. However, since the

LEA was allowed to enter TVEI Extension at the first attempt, the view of the MSC towards the Project was presumably favourable.

In the next Chapter the two case studies relating to Coventry and Warwickshire developed in this Chapter will be compared with the case study of Powys considered in the previous Chapter. The comparison will take the form of an analysis of the ways in which the three projects managed TVEI, and of the roles which the various participants played in the developments taking place. The differences and similarities which existed between the projects will be considered and the reasons for these will be analysed.

CHAPTER 8. AN OVERVIEW OF THE THREE CASE STUDIES.

The previous two chapters examined how three different Local Authorities introduced TVEI. The LEAs were very different in terms of size, political ideology and the management of their education service at the institutional level. Each one was attempting to introduce TVEI into their schools at the same stage in the Initiative. This research has demonstrated that there were a number of key features relating to the success of the introduction and development of TVEI within each of these LEAs.

As was seen in Chapter 3, Bolam (1975) argued that any change could be interpreted as the interaction of an Innovation system, a User system, and a Change agency system within a Time dimension. The Innovation system in this case was TVEI. This represented a complex, multifaceted, and often diverse set of changes which operated within a broad, nationally determined framework, rather than a single innovation. As a result of this diversity, considerable interaction occurred with existing structures and processes at both LEA and institutional levels. The User system was also complex, since it consisted of the LEA as the contract holder, the institutions which were introducing TVEI on behalf of the LEA, the classroom teachers who were ultimately responsible for the delivery of the scheme, and the students to whom the scheme was directed. The MSC could also be included in the User system, since the Commission was directly involved in the change process and used the outcomes of TVEI to promote its

educational objectives. The nature of the relationships which existed between these various tiers was critical to the progress of the innovation. The Change agency system for TVEI was extremely complex. While the MSC was the prime change agent nationally (operating through its own staff), the LEAs were the district change agents (largely operating through their project co-ordinators and central support teams), and the institutions were the local change agents (operating through their school co-ordinators, and also possibly through their headteachers and other staff such as Heads of Departments). The roles played by these change agents was also a key factor in the innovation process. The three systems operated within a time scale that had been kept deliberately short by the MSC to prevent unnecessary prevarication. This also had effects on the nature of change within TVEI. Within this framework, the following factors were found to be critical to the ways in which TVEI was introduced by the three case study projects:

8.1 FACTORS OPERATING AT THE MSC LEVEL.

- a) The degree of coherence between the aims and structures of TVEI and the political stance of the LEA.

TVEI was perceived by some as a politically sensitive initiative (Baker 1985, Bolton 1985), since it was seen as affecting the nature of comprehensive schooling and attempting to reintroduce a selective system in which some pupils would be allocated to a largely vocationalised curriculum (Evans and Davies 1987, Chitty 1986, Finn 1985). However, within the the three LEAs being considered in this thesis, there was no overt, large-scale,

political resistance to the aims of the Initiative. Although there was a potential for this to occur, particularly in Coventry which had a Labour administration that could have opposed the scheme on ideological grounds. This did not happen. The Coventry Authority believed that it would be able to adapt the Initiative to meet its own needs and was an innovative LEA. The Education Committees in Warwickshire and Powys were not opposed to the aims of TVEI, thus the Initiative was introduced with little opposition. While the controlling political groups in the three LEAs accepted the introduction of TVEI, it would have been difficult for the Project to be adopted if there had been a considerable opposition from teachers. This did not arise either in any of the LEAs being studied here. Within those LEAs elsewhere in the Country (eg Liverpool and ILEA) where there was a distinct uneasiness about the stated aims of TVEI, it was difficult for those LEAs to whole-heartedly endorse the Initiative (Lines and Stoney 1989).

The structures required by TVEI for management, curriculum and staff development, and for related issues such as work experience and enhanced careers guidance, did not initially appear to give rise to many concerns within the three LEAs in this research. This may have been because they did not concern themselves over much with these issues at the time, concentrating instead on the aims and criteria. It soon became evident, however, that these structural demands did pose problems for LEAs which did not have systems in place that could

react flexibly to change. Thus the requirement to set up specialised administrative and accounting systems, to engage in increased school development programmes, and to deal with the additional management of resources, were greater tasks for Powys than for the other two LEAs.

- b) The previous links which existed between the MSC and the LEA, particularly with regard to the provision of training opportunities.

The MSC had previously been an organisation that was primarily concerned with the delivery of planned training schemes. As a result, it had established a particular style and approach which was a potential anathema to some LEAs. The Commission was perceived by some as a bureaucratic, task orientated organisation, with an instrumentalist approach to management that did not fit easily with the flexible and responsive educational service that they saw themselves providing. Coventry LEA had previously collaborated with the MSC on a number of joint projects, including the provision of Youth Training and the Training Opportunities scheme, and these joint developments had created a working relationship and understanding between the LEA and the Commission which smoothed the way for the introduction of TVEI. Indeed the introduction of the TVEI scheme by the MSC, rather than by the DES, might have been a factor which actually served to reduce any resistance in the LEA towards TVEI. Although Warwickshire and Powys had previous links with the MSC at Education Department level, these were more limited than in the case of Coventry,

and both Authorities had to adapt to some of the management styles introduced by the MSC. Since there was no great political resistance to the Commission in either LEA, the relationship between them and the MSC was generally friendly and relaxed. There were occasions, however, when some officers in all three LEAs appeared suspicious of the Commission's intentions, and demonstrated a resistance to the intervention of a training organisation into the work of the schools.

c) The management approach used by the MSC.

The MSC set up a regional structure of officers and advisers to manage TVEI. The study of the three LEAs demonstrated that this structure was inadequate for meeting the needs of the projects. The administrative support was insufficient for the demands of the systems introduced by the MSC, and the LEAs found it difficult to co-operate with structures that were inconsistent with their own. The Regional Advisory capacity was extremely limited. The number of advisers was insufficient for the number of schools involved in the three projects.

The MSC approach to managing TVEI had three strands:

- (i) the use of written instructions to LEAs about how procedures should operate,
- (ii) personal visits by Regional Advisers and officers to LEAs to explain new procedures, and to evaluate the progress that projects were making,

(iii) Annual Reviews.

Annual Reviews were an important part of the management strategy used by the MSC. The style of these meetings was very different in each of the three projects. In Coventry, the relationship between the MSC and the LEA on these occasions was generally relaxed. While the LEA made it clear that it was not willing to compromise its educational principles for the sake of TVEI, its readiness to co-operate with the MSC was apparent. The MSC did not attempt to manage the LEA. In Warwickshire, the MSC appeared unhappy with the initial progress that the Project made, particularly with regard to collaborative working between schools. The Annual Reviews in this case were used to persuade the LEA to take a more proactive stance. While some tensions were apparent at times, the MSC did not attempt to manage the Project and was supportive of the work of the Project Co-ordinator. In Powys, Annual Reviews were uneasy occasions. The MSC made it clear that it was unhappy with the progress being made and threatened to withdraw the funding. This it did not do. However, the style of the MSC on these occasions was confrontational and the TVEI officers and Regional Adviser attempted to manage the approach taken by the Project.

In all three cases the management style of the MSC at Annual Reviews changed with time. The approach became less confrontational and less concerned with seeking accountability. It was more directed towards developing a partnership. It will

be shown in the next Chapter that this change of style was the result of an inability of the MSC to cope with the management of TVEI rather than a deliberate change of management approach.

8.2 FACTORS OPERATING AT THE LEA LEVEL.

a) The relationship between the LEA and its schools, regarding:

i) The degree of autonomy provided to them.

The introduction of TVEI necessitated an LEA taking a responsibility for the developments occurring in its schools, and accepting a contractual obligation with the MSC for the successful delivery of the scheme. Where schools had become used to accepting the directives made by their LEA, and anticipated that the LEA would assume a large part of the control over any developments (for instance in Coventry), the assimilation of TVEI was an easier matter than in those Authorities where schools had been given a considerable amount of autonomy to undertake developments in their own way and in their own time. This was a particular problem for Powys, where not only had the schools been allowed considerable freedom of action, but the LEA had previously been able to provide only a minimal amount of support and guidance. Even in the case of Warwickshire, where the LEA had given considerable autonomy to its schools but had attempted to maintain a strong support role, it was not easy for the LEA to begin to exert a greater degree of control during the introduction of TVEI. Schools which had become used to their 'independence' resented attempts by the LEA to wrestle back any significant control. In the case of

Warwickshire the TVEI Project Co-ordinator was determined to achieve this, but in Powys the schools were largely allowed to maintain their autonomy.

11) Previous attempts at collaboration with other institutions.

There had been little history of collaborative developments between the schools and colleges in Powys, partly because of the distances between them, and partly because of cultural differences. Only in the case of one school and one college was there any degree of partnership, and in this case TVEI did become adopted as a shared development. In the other parts of the County, collaboration was difficult to achieve for the reasons discussed previously. Although the Warwickshire TVEI pilot schools were geographically close to one another, it proved difficult for the Project Co-ordinator to establish any collaboration between them. Historically, there had been a considerable competition between the schools for pupils in the area, and as a result each had established its own clear identity, which it felt was attractive to parents, and which it wished to preserve. In Coventry, however, there had been a number of previous attempts at collaboration. Many of these had been successfully received by the schools, and hence it was an easier matter to encourage collaborative developments within TVEI. Even in this case, however, the tensions caused through competition for pupils, and the possible reactions of parents to joint ventures, prevented a completely successful co-operative scheme being achieved.

111) The existence of competition between schools for pupil numbers.

TVEI could be regarded as either a positive or a negative feature during the marketing of a school, depending upon the image which the headteacher wanted to portray. For those heads who wished to promote a progressive and forward looking school, in which innovative opportunities were taken, TVEI was a highly marketable commodity. However, where schools prized their traditional values, and wanted to demonstrate an ethos of stability and security to parents, TVEI might have been a disadvantage since it was concerned with changing traditional school structures. The marketing of schools to attract pupils becomes most critical when they are in direct competition with other schools. The distances between the secondary schools in Powys meant that this was not a particular problem, except where parents were free to decide to send their children to schools in neighbouring Authorities. The Coventry schools involved in TVEI were sufficiently far apart for their catchment areas not to overlap, and there had not been attempts previously by parents to move their children across the boundaries. In the case of Warwickshire, however, the schools which had been selected for TVEI were close together, and due to a degree of excess capacity as a result of falling rolls, they had competed for pupils for some time. This situation inhibited collaborative relationships being developed, and raised concerns, in the minds of the headteachers, about the possible effects that changes might have on the public images of their schools.

In all three LEAs, potential competition existed in the post-16 phase. While in Powys the school sixth forms did not compete with one another for students, the colleges of FE competed both with the schools and with each other. Although the LEA had restricted the courses available at one of the colleges, so that students who wanted to take engineering-based courses had to travel to the other college, there was still considerable overlap in some vocational areas. The LEA had also encouraged the colleges to concentrate on vocational courses, and as a result, there was some resentment among college staff who saw that, in effect, the LEA was attempting to operate a selective system post-16, in which academically able students remained in the school sector while the others transferred to the colleges. Although these issues tended to restrict collaboration in the post-16 phase, the colleges themselves actually used TVEI to a considerable degree to enhance their course provision. In Warwickshire, the competition which existed pre-16 was extended into the post-16 phase, and was also apparent in the lower status that seemed to be afforded to college courses by the schools. As was the case in Powys, the Warwickshire sixth forms were seen to attract the bulk of the academically able students, leaving the colleges to undertake the vocationally orientated courses. In Coventry, the competition between the schools and colleges was less acute. There were elements of an academic/vocational divide apparent at 16+, but the traditions of collaboration, and the political will to implement a policy of 'Education for life', were sufficiently strong to alleviate

the worst excesses of this. Competition in the post-16 phase was also extended to the effects that the YTS scheme, which operated in all three LEAs, had on student numbers. There was no collaboration between the TVEI projects and the YTS providers in the LEAs, despite the fact that both initiatives had originated within the MSC. This seemed to be a consequence of the TVEI Unit having discouraged projects from becoming involved with YTS, since it was considered that the scheme did not provide a suitably accredited progression route for TVEI designated students.

iv) The expectations of Headteachers and Officers.

Coventry headteachers anticipated that they would largely be required to run their schools within the guidelines laid down by the LEA. They assumed that ideas for developments would frequently be suggested and supported from the centre, particularly through the work of officers and advisers who were seen to be acting in response to the wishes of elected members. In the case of Warwickshire, however, the schools tended to operate autonomously. The LEA was seen as providing a degree of support and encouragement, but there was little expectation in schools that the LEA would attempt to establish control over the innovation. Education in Powys tended to be more static than in the other two Authorities, with many of the schools pursuing a largely traditional pattern of provision. Innovation was not particularly encouraged by the LEA, whose role seemed to be to mainly administer to the needs of the institutions. As a

result, there was a different response in each of the LEAs to centrally directed curriculum initiatives, which influenced the reactions of the schools towards TVEI.

- b) The LEAs own tradition of educational innovation, in relation to both curriculum and staff development, and to the role of the Advisory Service.

Coventry LEA had previously established something of a reputation for encouraging educational innovation, and the schools seemed to expect to be invited to participate in many of the new initiatives being introduced. The City, therefore, had invested heavily in the provision of support for teaching staff to engage in curriculum development. It had established a well equipped Teachers' Centre and had appointed a large team of advisers and teacher advisers. Warwickshire had created a network of Teachers' Centres and through the work of the Advisory Service provided a fairly comprehensive programme of INSET, although much of this was directed at supporting existing practice rather than towards encouraging curriculum innovation. In Powys, the opportunities for teachers to engage in INSET activities were more limited as a result of organisational difficulties relating to distances between schools and LEA centres. There was little tradition of educational innovation, and the INSET that was provided in the County tended to be for the maintenance of current practice, rather than for generating change. As a result, therefore, teachers in Coventry regarded INSET in very different ways from their counterparts in the two

Shire Counties. The effect of this was to create different reactions from teachers to the introduction of TVEI; the Initiative was targeted towards curriculum and pedagogical change, and as a result required teachers to engage in substantial INSET activities.

- c) The LEA's intention to contain, utilise or amend TVEI; ie whether the intention was to develop TVEI objectives within the Authority, as a consequence of the funding provided, or to use the resources for other purposes, or to attempt to alter the TVEI objectives in a deliberate way to suit the LEA's own needs.

Although the intention with regard to TVEI in Coventry might have been to use the funding to support the City's own needs, the coherence between the two sets of objectives allowed the LEA to develop TVEI in ways which were largely acceptable to the MSC. The Authority set up an innovative scheme which encouraged new practices in curriculum organisation and pedagogy, and introduced new trends in assessment. The objectives of TVEI were largely adhered to, and the scheme was frequently praised by the MSC for its exemplary outcomes. Although Coventry was refused entry to TVEI Extension at the first attempt, the reasons for this were acknowledged by both partners to be minimal and largely associated with fairly minor issues of progression for post-16 students. The Extension scheme was accepted without amendment the following year. In Warwickshire, the Project tried to adhere closely to the aims and objectives of TVEI. It used the scheme to develop the work-related

curriculum and new styles of teaching and learning, and to introduce new forms of accreditation. The Co-ordinator seemed determined to cultivate an ethos of change in the schools, and in this case the LEA succeeded in gaining entry to TVEI Extension at the first attempt. However, the Warwickshire TVEI scheme was by no means as innovatory as that introduced by Coventry, and the TVEI components were not as easily recognisable within the schools. Within Powys, the development of TVEI objectives was far more limited in scope and intention. Although the County's submission supported the TVEI criteria, the ways in which the LEA attempted to introduce these were more restricted, and the developments taking place tended to be focussed more on institutional needs, rather than on those defined by the Project. The components of the Powys TVEI scheme were difficult to distinguish from much of the previous work of the institutions, because the scheme itself was not particularly innovative, and the schools tended to treat it in this way. Powys failed to gain admission to TVEI Extension at the first attempt and was provided with development funding by the MSC to support an entry at a later date.

- d) The role of the Project Co-ordinators. The nature of their links with the LEAs and their institutions; the breadth of their role; and their willingness to act as a substantial change agents through the encouragement of innovation whenever possible.

The roles and modes of operation of the LEA project co-ordinators have been closely examined in the previous two

Chapters. In Powys the Co-ordinator was only able to generate a minimal amount of change; partly because of the autonomy of the Authority's schools, and as a result of the large number of other tasks that he was required to undertake. While he was keen to encourage change wherever possible, he was constrained by being able to attempt this only through his advisory role, since the autonomy of the institutions largely prevented him from operating in any other way. Although his status in the County was high, his success in encouraging innovation was limited. In Coventry, the Co-ordinator (entitled the Director) acted as the manager of the LEA's scheme, and he had the confidence and support of the LEA and headteachers. Although he sometimes had to steer the Project, this was not particularly difficult because the schools were used to receiving direction from the centre. The Co-ordinator was an influential member of the Education Department and had high status within the schools. In Warwickshire, the Co-ordinator began his task from a fairly low status position but, through his development of the role, he was able to increase his status substantially and became a highly influential person in the Education Department. He showed a determination to produce change, by coercion if necessary, and to further the aims of TVEI within the institutions. His role in the LEA broadened considerably during the life of the project, and he moved from being the manager of a curriculum development project to a member of the Advisory Team, with special responsibility for careers education and industry links in addition to TVEI. The success the project co-

ordinators had in encouraging change, in accordance with the principles of TVEI, was related, therefore, to the attitudes of the LEAs and institutions towards the Project, as well as to their determination and ability to generate changes in the schools by overcoming the resistance of the traditional gate-keepers.

In Chapter 5, a classification of co-ordinator roles introduced by Beattie (1985) was discussed and extended. This research has allowed that classification to be developed further. It now seems likely that a negative reaction from heads to someone operating in the 'Competing Head' mode would have occurred in those LEAs in which institutions had historically been given considerable autonomy over their affairs, and in which heads and principals had high status. In fact, it is unlikely that a TVEI co-ordinator working in an LEA which operated on a high level of institutional autonomy could actually have operated as a 'Competing Head'. It was only in those Authorities in which central control of institutions was taken for granted that such a role could have been envisaged.

Co-ordinators who operated as 'Managers' would probably have attempted to achieve consensus among all those involved and to create collaborative developments. Co-ordinators operating in this mode would have needed the support of a number of advisory teachers and curriculum co-ordinators, who they would have managed, and who would have provided additional support within

the institutions. Because this particular model would not necessarily have demanded a high profile on the part of the co-ordinator, co-ordinators might have been accused of paying insufficient attention to the processes occurring in the schools and may have been seen as rather remote.

Although 'Adviser' co-ordinators would probably have had the confidence of the staff in the institutions, they might have been too close to the changes which were occurring to allow a sufficiently broad viewpoint to be produced to assist with whole-project developments.

Co-ordinators operating in a 'Chief Executive' mode would have needed a fairly large central team to delegate responsibilities to, and so this model only became common when TVEI was extended to whole LEAs. Even then it was only within the larger Authorities that such a role was really feasible.

'Inspector/evaluator' co-ordinators mainly operated within LEAs that were keen to develop quality control structures and wanted to ensure that the work of their institutions was properly monitored. These co-ordinators were keen to ensure that institutions were seen as accountable to the project for the outcomes they achieved.

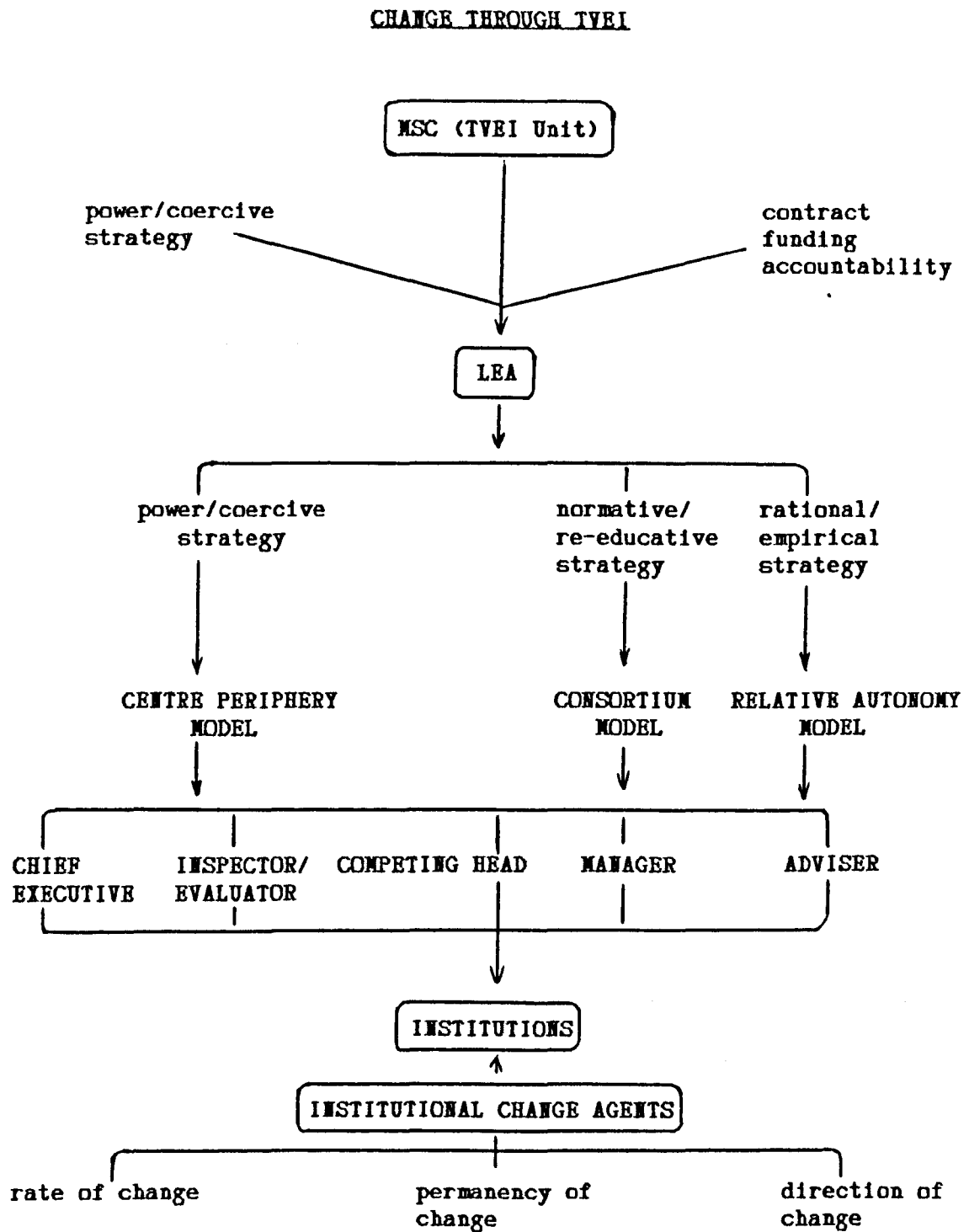
The 'Chief Executive' and 'Inspector/evaluator' modes were largely LEA focussed, in that they were mainly concerned with

the outcomes of TVEI for the project. These co-ordinators tended to remain outside the action of TVEI developments. The 'Adviser' co-ordinators were more institutionally focussed in that they were concerned with the specific outcomes in the institutions, and were highly involved with the developments taking place. The 'Manager' co-ordinators were mainly concerned with the outcomes for the LEA, but were more willing to work with the institutions than the 'Chief Executives' or 'Inspector/Evaluators' might have been. The 'Competing Heads' could have been found working with either the LEA or the schools, but would have been very much inside the operation rather than outside it. This research has demonstrated, however, that co-ordinators tended to adopt a blend of these roles, focussing on certain strategies at particular times and in particular circumstances. Indeed the success that co-ordinators achieved was frequently a result of their ability to modify their approach.

e) The interactions between Co-ordinators and their LEAs.

A 'Competing Head' co-ordinator operating in an Authority with a 'Centre/Periphery' style of management would be likely to create rapid change by operating through a power/coercive strategy. However, since this strategy is not conducive to producing long term institutionalised change, it is unlikely that it would be popular with practitioners, being seen as something imposed from outside and putting them under pressure to produce results quickly. Similar situations could also result from the

Fig. 8.1.



operations of 'Chief Executive' and 'Inspector/Evaluator' style Co-ordinators, although these would probably generate different reactions within the institutions. While the 'Competing Head' would be seen as a particular threat by the headteachers, the 'Inspector/Evaluator' would be seen as a more universal threat, especially when accountability issues were being pursued. The 'Chief Executive' would not pose a specific threat to an institution, but would be regarded with a high degree of scepticism since he would be a distant manager. In this case, the ways in which the roles undertaken by his team members were discharged, would be critical. On the other hand, while an 'Adviser' co-ordinator operating in an Authority with a 'relative/autonomy' model of management might be able to produce change of a sustained nature, it is likely that this change would be slow to occur, and be so idiosyncratic to the individual institutions that sharing of developments would not occur (Powys). The change model which seems to have been most favoured by the MSC, the Consortium Model, has been found in one of the Projects being studied in this research (Coventry), to produce useful developments for the institutions involved, but these were not then easily transmitted to other institutions in the LEA. The management of this approach needs careful consideration, and since it involves changing attitudes, the use of a normative/re-educative style operated by a 'Manager' co-ordinator or 'Adviser' co-ordinator would probably prove to be most appropriate. However, this approach is inherently slow to occur, because attitudes of practitioners are difficult to

change. These features are summarised in Figure 8.1, in which the rate at which the outcomes of TVEI were achieved, the permanency of the changes that were occurring, and the actual direction in which the institution was moving, are seen as dependent upon the implementation strategies adopted by both the LEA and the institutional change agents (headteachers and TVEI co-ordinators). The relationship between the MSC and its TVEI projects was found to be generally consistent across LEAs (initially power-coercive), while the role of the project TVEI co-ordinators differed according to the nature of the LEA. The roles undertaken by the co-ordinators tended to reflect the particular change model that they adopted, although this model was itself dependent upon the way in which the LEAs usually dealt with their institutions.

f) The size of the LEA:

1) Links between schools,

The pilot schools in Warwickshire and Coventry were situated close to one another, and hence distance posed no real barriers to possible collaborative developments in these LEAs. Within Powys, however, distance was an important factor, since it prevented staff from meeting together regularly, and in this way inhibited successful consortium working. However, it also has to be acknowledged that, at times, the distance factor appeared to be used as an excuse for schools not being able to collaborate when, perhaps, it masked more fundamental

differences between institutions, including educational and cultural features.

11) Support staff availability.

The advisers and teacher advisers in Coventry often led developments in the City, and their presence in the schools was accepted as a normal part of the curriculum and staff development programme. In Warwickshire, whilst the advisers had shown themselves willing to support developments, they were less pro-active in generating them than their colleagues in Coventry. In addition, there was only a small number of advisory teachers in the County prior to TRIST and those were largely concerned with encouraging areas of the curriculum which had limited adviser support, eg primary science. The advisory team in Powys was very small and tended not to be particularly pro-active as far as the schools themselves were concerned. Many schools in the County felt isolated from the 'centre', and support for curriculum and staff development was severely limited. There were no advisory teachers in Powys prior to the introduction of TRIST.

g) Reactions to evaluation.

It was stated in Chapter 1, that the nature of TVEI evaluation was not fully understood by the three LEAs and their institutions. This situation probably resulted from a number of features:

(i) The LEAs and their institutions had not been involved with evaluation studies to any extent in the past.

(ii) Where evaluation had been used, it was for summative rather than for formative purposes. Formative evaluation was seen by some people in the LEAs as a type of inspection.

(iii) There was a suspicion among some people that the evaluation was for accountability purposes, and would be used to determine areas in which the project was failing.

(iv) The LEAs did not have their own structures for evaluation. This made some officers and heads antagonistic to a system which was being imposed from outside.

(v) Questions were asked about the credibility of the evaluator and the rigour and appropriateness of the instruments used.

The LEAs differed in the ways they reacted to evaluation. In the case of Powys, although the project assisted the evaluator, and attempted to provide free access, the research outcomes were not used to any great extent. It was pointed out in Chapter 6 that the evaluation studies had highlighted a number of the weaknesses of the Powys scheme, but these had been either misunderstood or deliberately ignored. However, while the Powys project marginalised the effects of evaluation, staff in the institutions were generally willing to co-operate with the

evaluator. In part this was because they received little direct input from the Authority and they saw the evaluator perhaps as a source of advice and support. The ways in which they reacted to the evaluation outcomes, however, were still guarded.

Of the three LEAs, Coventry was the one that had made greatest use of evaluation in the past, particularly through its advisers and inspectors. As a result, the staff in the schools in Coventry looked to the evaluators to provide them with useful information for future developments. However, the LEA was more reticent to accept the evaluation outcomes, reported by the University team, arguing that it was impossible for people outside the LEA to have a proper view of what was happening. In part this reflected certain negative attitudes to the first two evaluation reports that had been produced (HMI 1986), and a concern that the evaluation was more concerned with accountability than with development. The project was somewhat protective about its reputation.

It was shown in Chapter 7 that the Warwickshire TVEI co-ordinator used the evaluation reports as accountability instruments to determine how the institutions were developing. This meant that, while the central team co-operated fully with the evaluator, the staff in the schools were generally suspicious and sometimes hostile. The heads perhaps perceived the evaluator as an agent of the LEA and the MSC. The Warwickshire co-ordinator was keen to develop accountability

systems, and later took upon himself the role of 'Inspector/evaluator'.

8.3 FACTORS OPERATING AT THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL.

- a) The ethos and structures of the institutions, in relation to their local community and Governors, to educational change, and to their educational philosophy.

The schools and colleges in Coventry were highly orientated towards their local communities, and generally offered open access to the public. They accepted educational change and supported the City's policy which was exemplified in 'An Education for Life' (Coventry LEA 1982). This argued that education was a life-long process which was to be achieved by close collaboration between the schools, students, the LEA and the local communities. Unlike the TVEI schools in Powys and Warwickshire, the Coventry TVEI schools were more noticeable for their similarities than for their differences. In Warwickshire, the TVEI institutions tended to be far more insular than their counterparts in Coventry, and often reflected an adherence to traditionally determined values and structures. The individual institutions enjoyed the support of their governing bodies and they tended to resist any changes imposed from outside. Their educational philosophies were highly idiosyncratic, and varied from one school, in which there was no school uniform, in which pupils called their teachers by their first names, and which prided itself on its innovative style, to another school which had a strict uniform, demonstrated traditional Grammar school

values, and openly resisted change. Despite this dichotomy, both schools were very popular with certain groups of parents. Schools in Powys tended to reflect the traditions of their local communities. They were generally steeped in the local culture and tended to resist changes which might affect this. The schools often demonstrated traditional Grammar school values, and seemed suspicious of ideas emanating from outside. Within their local communities, however, they were generally very highly regarded. The significance of these features is that where schools had built up a previous reputation for successful change and innovation, it was easier for them to persuade parents and governors of the value of introducing TVEI.

b) The role of TVEI in the institution.

The concept of salience (Dale 1986) was discussed and extended in Chapter 4. Dale considered three features of salience: Identity, Integration and Compass, to which has been added Status. In Coventry, the salience of TVEI was high in the case of two of the three institutions, in that TVEI was clearly identified (ie it was well publicised), was marketed as a useful scheme, and was made available to all pupils. Although initially TVEI was a separate development in these schools, and the modular scheme was available only to limited cohorts of pupils, the scheme became more integrated as the Project developed and all pupils eventually became involved in the modular curriculum. Although teachers in the schools who were involved with the Initiative were initially identified as 'TVEI

staff', this too gradually changed as the scheme became more universal. TVEI also had considerable impact in the two schools. It affected the school organisation, timetabling and staffing arrangements, and many of the features of the Initiative, particularly profiling, Active Learning and work experience, began to influence the rest of the schools' work in obvious ways. The status of TVEI in the schools was high. Although both schools had previously been involved with prevocational developments such as CPVE, the technological and business aspects of the curriculum had not been given much prominence. As a result of TVEI, these areas were extended and given a status equivalent to the more 'academic' work of the schools. The other TVEI school in Coventry was more reticent to involve itself fully in all aspects of the scheme, due to possible parental reactions, and here the salience was less. In this case, the scheme was largely identified with pupils of 'lower ability' and was not well marketed across all sectors; the integration of the scheme was slow to occur, and TVEI classes were frequently discrete entities. The impact of TVEI, however, was quite large, since it was impossible for TVEI to be introduced without changes in the school organisation, and the work of other pupils did become influenced by features such as Active Learning and profiling. The status of TVEI in this school was still quite low, however, since stress continued to be laid upon the 'academic' curriculum. Where TVEI was able to introduce electronics, computing and technology, which were seen as having higher status, this was welcomed, but other areas of

the curriculum, such as business studies, were not so easily assimilated.

Although the salience of TVEI in Warwickshire schools was generally less than in Coventry, this did vary considerably between the institutions. In most cases, TVEI was not clearly differentiated, and in a number of schools, TVEI pupils were not even aware of their involvement in the scheme. TVEI was often seen as being for a limited group of pupils, and as a result it was not marketed widely. The competitive element that existed between the schools in this part of Warwickshire, tended to make headteachers wary about the amount of publicity that they gave to new schemes that might damage their reputations if they proved unsuccessful. TVEI sometimes became integrated into a school structure in order to reduce its prominence. In a number of cases, TVEI was merely a mechanism for adding additional subjects to the existing option pools, with TVEI pupils then being identified as those who chose particular combinations of these subjects. The impact of TVEI was fairly low, with TVEI subjects being peripheral to the timetable rather than being fundamental to its construction. Some of the TVEI elements became adopted into the work of the schools, eg work experience and profiling, but this was often a result of these initiatives already existing in the school. There did not appear to be a great deal of effect on other parts of the curriculum. The status of TVEI was not particularly high, and the schools continued to give prominence to those aspects of their work that

proved attractive to parents and governors. Where TVEI was able to assist in this process, eg through electronics courses or information technology, these areas were given increased prominence, but this did not apply to the scheme as a whole. Although the elements of salience varied in degree between the schools in Warwickshire, they all tended to be lower than in the Coventry TVEI schools. While TVEI was adopted fairly enthusiastically by the Coventry LEA and the headteachers of its TVEI schools, in Warwickshire the Initiative was treated with some suspicion. In comparison with the prominence that TVEI was given by Warwickshire schools, in Powys it was generally lower still. The impact of TVEI on Powys schools was small. There was little curriculum innovation as a result of the Initiative and changes in teaching styles were slow to occur. Powys headteachers were concerned about the effects that TVEI might have on the reputation of their schools, and they attempted to 'hide' the Initiative within the general work of their institutions. In common with the situation in Warwickshire, the acceptability of TVEI varied between the schools. Those schools that had already had some involvement with pre-vocational courses were more prepared to adopt TVEI than those schools which were accustomed to more traditional curriculum patterns. TVEI was used in some schools as an alternative curriculum for certain groups of pupils who were disaffected. Where new subjects were introduced into the curriculum of the Powys TVEI schools, these tended to be ones which teachers already wanted to introduce, such as electronics

and business studies, which were more readily acceptable to parents.

c) The status given to the TVEI institution Co-ordinator.

It was argued in Chapter 4, that the status of TVEI in schools and colleges could be linked to the roles that the institution co-ordinators were given. It has been shown already that, within the three LEAs being considered here, TVEI had the highest status in Coventry. The co-ordinators in this LEA also had considerable status. This was a consequence of the positions they held in their institutions (they were all deputy heads or Senior Teachers, and members of their senior management teams), and their own personal standing with their colleagues. The co-ordinators in Coventry operated as 'Deputy Heads', and were given delegated responsibility for the introduction of TVEI. Meetings of the co-ordinators were decision making occasions and they formed the major planning group for the Initiative in the City.

The co-ordinators in Warwickshire were well respected members of their institutions, but they were not given the same responsibility for introducing TVEI as their Coventry counterparts. They operated as 'Heads of Department' rather than 'Deputy Heads'. They were only allowed to operate within a framework laid down by their headteachers. Meetings of co-ordinators took place regularly, but these were discussion

groups rather than decision making bodies; decisions were taken by the heads and principals meeting together.

In Powys, the status of the co-ordinators varied between institutions; in most cases they had low status, both in terms of their position in the school, and in their relationships with their colleagues. Four of the co-ordinators operated as 'Administrators', having been given no real responsibility for the scheme other than to complete the necessary paperwork and to keep the required accounts. Two of the co-ordinators, however, were able to operate as 'Deputy Heads' and therefore had higher status, not only in their schools and colleges, but also in the Authority as a whole, and it was to these two individuals that the Project Co-ordinator tended to turn when he needed to discuss issues related to TVEI. Meetings of institution co-ordinators occurred infrequently, and were often ineffectual due to the different status positions of the people present. Thus the ability of the institution co-ordinators in the three LEAs to act as change agents was affected by the attitudes shown towards them by their colleagues in their institutions.

The ways in which TVEI was introduced in the three projects differed markedly therefore. The success that the projects achieved, and the scope of the developments taking place, were a direct result of the relationships between the TVEI institutions and their LEAs, and the roles and responsibilities undertaken by the major participants. In the next Chapter, the issues which have already been raised in this

thesis with regard to the management of change through TVEI, both nationally and in the three case study LEAs, will be placed in the context of the whole Initiative, and of other recent education innovations. The findings will then be analysed and conclusions drawn about the role that the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative had in relation to producing change in educational management in this Country.

CHAPTER 9. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS.

The adequacies of this research are considered in this Chapter, and suggestions of possible areas for further investigation are made. The findings from the research are then set against the central thesis:

'That the impact of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative in educational institutions, has depended on the previous attitudes which have been shown towards the management of change both within the institutions and in the Local Education Authority responsible, and also on the nature and extent of the support of the Project, and to some degree on the nature of the Project itself.'

and are analysed under three main headings:

- (i) the notion of centre/periphery change, as it applies to TVEI.
- (ii) features of the change process in TVEI.
- (iii) the outcomes for TVEI within the framework of its local and national contexts.

The findings will embrace the various features relating to TVEI and educational change which have been discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 and will take into account the outcomes of the three case studies considered in Chapters 6 and 7. The final conclusions will be set against a conceptual framework that encompasses the two main areas which have been central themes throughout this thesis:

- (i) The nature of the change processes in TVEI,
- (ii) The changes produced as a result of TVEI.

9.1 SOME COMMENTS ON THE ADEQUACIES OF THIS RESEARCH.

The main aims of this research project were to examine the curriculum and management processes which were occurring within a number of TVEI schemes, through the evaluation studies that were carried out. The methods which were used have been described in Chapter 2, together with the problems which were inherent in the ethnographic approach that was mainly employed. The adequacies of the research can be determined by focussing on a number of key features:

(1) Access to the TVEI projects.

Since this research was conducted as part of an official evaluation of TVEI developments, there were no problems over access to documentary materials, or attending the various meetings held by the projects. Neither were there difficulties in gaining access to staff and students in the LEAs and institutions, although, since TVEI was a contentious and highly funded contractual project, it was not always certain that all the staff involved were willing to respond honestly and frankly to the questions being asked, and to provide all the information which was being sought. While it appeared that the vast majority of individuals did respond positively, and appeared willing to provide the information which was requested, it was impossible to be sure that this was always the case. The research methodology was designed to overcome this problem, as far as possible, by cross-referencing the various viewpoints expressed.

(ii) Reliability and Validity.

The information which was obtained was constantly tested against the perceptions of others through triangulation approaches, and by analysing the responses which were made to the reports that were produced, both verbally and in written form. The picture that emerged was valid for the participants who had been involved in the evaluation studies, but it was not possible to obtain the views of all the participants and interested observers, or to observe all aspects of the three projects. As a result, the information obtained was limited to the comments of some people, and it was always possible, therefore, that different views might have been expressed by others. Opinions about TVEI were sought from a cross-section of participants, and included teachers and students as well as co-ordinators and senior staff in schools and the LEAs. As far as possible, within the available time, the samples used were representative of the broader communities.

(iii) Constraints of Time.

Any 'immersion' in the developments taking place was only partial. This difficulty was a direct result of working with three different LEAs at the same time. Another problem arose as a result of the evaluative field work needing to be completed in two years, in order to accommodate the available funding; as a result, any attempt to develop longitudinal studies was limited. Because the local evaluation of TVEI schemes began some time after they had started to operate, it was difficult to obtain a 'base-line' view of the position from which the LEAs had come. The importance of this antecedent stage of the change

process has been recognised by Bolam (1975), but in this case it could only be deduced through conversations with appropriate participants, and hence any analysis might not have been entirely reliable.

(iv) Awareness of Local and National developments.

It might be considered that the development of just three case studies of TVEI projects was insufficient, since TVEI was a national scheme, and the LEAs chosen might not have provided a reasonable cross-section. However, these particular LEAs did provide opportunities for studying three very different educational backgrounds, both in organisational terms and with regard to their philosophies, and their TVEI schemes were distinctive and introduced in different ways. In addition, it was possible to gain a considerable amount of information about TVEI in other LEAs through contacts with other evaluators, and by attending various meetings at which project co-ordinators were present. The national perspective was also enhanced through the regional and national TVEI meetings which were held, and through access to research and evaluation reports.

(v) Access to the MSC.

One of the major problems encountered during this work, was that any analysis of the MSC role in TVEI could only be attempted through impressionistic methods. It proved impossible to obtain sufficient accurate, in-depth information about the workings of the TVEI Unit, since its staff were subject to the Official Secrets Act and were unwilling, therefore, to provide information outside their immediate remit. This meant that the evaluation of this important aspect of TVEI

had to be considered through indirect approaches, including observation of the work of MSC officials; conversations with TVEI project staff about their perceptions of the MSC's role in TVEI; analysis of MSC literature, reports and other Government papers; and attendance at a range of meetings at which MSC staff were present. This was not, however, a totally satisfactory approach.

(vi) A lack of objective research information.

A great deal of the literature that was produced in connection with TVEI was descriptive rather than analytical, and had often been produced by those most closely involved with running the various projects. This meant that a great deal of the published material relating to TVEI could not be relied upon to be impartial. The MSC had encouraged LEAs to market TVEI and to disseminate the lessons which had been learned; as a result there were a great many vested interests operating within TVEI that made it more difficult for the evaluator to obtain an objective overview of the development.

(vii) The Effects of the Evaluator's other roles.

In addition to the evaluator/researcher role, the researcher was also expected to perform a number of other functions including: consultant, adviser, and inspector. While these roles assisted in gaining access to project staff, they also detracted from any ability to maintain a totally neutral viewpoint. This was particularly so where an adviser/consultant role was fulfilled, since the researcher was placed in the position of gaining a degree of ownership over the changes taking place. As a result, the researcher became a change agent within

TVEI. This feature is one of the important outcomes of this research, because it has become evident that formative evaluation will have a developmental effect on the work of a project, and as such the evaluator becomes a critical part of the development process, in which he offers advice through the evaluation outcomes.

(viii) Measurement of outcomes.

Many of the outcomes of TVEI, which were being evaluated, were concerned with the attitudes of participants to the project and with the management of curriculum change and development. However, TVEI was an initiative that became increasingly concerned with changing teaching and learning styles, and whilst models for evaluating teaching styles have become fairly well-established, there is little literature available on the evaluation of learning. Classroom observation studies, as they related to the effectiveness of TVEI, were concerned more with the management of learning strategies, therefore, than with an evaluation of learning outcomes.

(ix) Responsiveness to LEA and institutional requests.

It was possible to examine those aspects of the TVEI schemes that were identified by the researcher as important, but the focus of the evaluation was none-the-less influenced by the wishes of the LEA co-ordinators and institutional staff. Particular issues were suggested for more intensive study and, wherever possible, these were incorporated into the research. For instance, one of the headteachers in Coventry was concerned about the effects that the TVEI modular scheme was having on the attitudes of his students towards their

studies. In this case, a decision was taken to pursue this issue, and a separate report to the school and to the LEA was produced (Hodge 1987h). The evaluation studies were sometimes developed in response to the needs of the participants and, as a result, the particular focus changed during the field-work period.

9.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

(i) An analysis of the 'consequent stage' of TVEI.

This research has been mainly concerned with the 'interactive stage' of TVEI, ie the period during which the initiative has been developing. Since LEAs have been considerably affected by the contractual and categorically-funded nature of the project, an analysis of what happens when the funding and support from the MSC end should provide a useful study. It will be particularly important to determine the degree of institutionalisation of the changes that have occurred, since a number of these have been quite fundamental features of both educational management and curriculum development.

(ii) Further work on the developmental nature of formative evaluation and its consequences for the role of the evaluator.

It has become apparent during this research, that the traditional view of evaluation providing a distinctive part of the management of change cycle has not been upheld. Instead of evaluation merely providing evidence about the appropriateness of a particular developmental strategy, TVEI has demonstrated that formative evaluation has become much more a part of the management of change process itself. This

appears to have consequences for the roles undertaken by evaluators and the backgrounds from which they are recruited.

(iii) The expectations of the participants in highly funded projects of the role and status of the evaluator.

The link between evaluation and accountability was an important dimension in TVEI because of the high level of funding available. The role taken by evaluators in accountability situations seems to be a critical one, since it relates to their capacity to fulfil their task effectively and has consequences for the status that they are given.

(iv) The linkages between illuminative and scientific forms of evaluation, including Performance Indicators.

The approach used during this research was in the illuminative and ethnographic tradition. However, many of the developments currently taking place in the evaluation of TVEI are concerned with more scientific approaches, particularly the development of Performance Indicators. The ways in which these two strands of evaluation might be used together, to produce a more composite picture of developments, would be a useful study.

(v) Further work on the evaluation of learning outcomes.

The shift in emphasis within TVEI to learning outcomes is likely to be continued. There is currently little, if any, research literature on the evaluation of learning outcomes, and this too could usefully be developed.

9.3 THE NOTION OF CENTRE/PERIPHERY CHANGE AS IT APPLIES TO TVEI.

TVEI began its life in 1983 as a centrally developed and centrally funded education project. The aims and criteria of TVEI meant that the Initiative was primarily concerned with promoting change within the educational system of England and Wales. The three main centres from which these changes were generated, were:

- the MSC (through its TVEI Unit),
- the LEA (particularly through its TVEI project co-ordinator),
- the institution heads and principals (often through their TVEI institution co-ordinators).

During the course of this research, it was found that an understanding of the interactions between these agencies was vital to an appreciation of the processes taking place within TVEI. Although the LEAs and institutions were both peripheral to the MSC (the principal agent of change in TVEI), the LEAs themselves were a central focus for their own institutions, and the headteachers and principals were central agents as far as their teachers were concerned.

TVEI was introduced rapidly and without discussion with the LEAs involved, and as such represented an initiative emanating from the centre rather than from the periphery. It was also commonly found, particularly in many of the First Round schemes (those that started in 1983), that LEAs themselves did not consult with their institutions about their intended TVEI Projects. Hence the further periphery of schools and colleges was not usually involved in the creation of local

schemes. A further complication was that the heads of the institutions which became involved did not always consult widely with their teachers about the impending changes. Those participants in the change process, who were ultimately responsible for the delivery of TVEI to students, were frequently ignored, therefore, in the initial planning stages.

The way in which TVEI was introduced was centralist. Financial support was provided to LEAs only when they had submitted schemes that were framed within the criteria laid down by the National Steering Group. MSC determined when LEAs were allowed to commence their TVEI schemes. A centralist approach was also observed during Annual Reviews (see Chapter 5), and in the expectations that Regional Advisers and Civil Servants had about their relationships with the LEAs. There was, as a result, a compulsion on the LEAs to deliver outcomes in line with their previously accepted schemes, in return for the funding made available to them. As a result of this coercion, LEAs themselves tended to pressurise institutions into developing schemes which fitted an acceptable framework. However, as shown in Chapters 6 and 7, this was often tempered by the previous management relationships which existed between a particular LEA and its institutions. These are illustrated in Figure 9.1. If an LEA had traditionally imposed central directives on its schools, TVEI developments occurred in a more or less uniform way within the pilot institutions, and collaborative schemes tended to develop (the case in Coventry). If, on the other hand, the institutions had become used to having a high degree of autonomy, within an Authority that operated a more 'laissez faire' approach, then uniform and sustained change was difficult to maintain, and

Figure 9.1 Relationships between LEA management styles and institutional responses.

: Management style : Institutional responses :		:
: of the LEA :		:
<hr/>		
: Traditionally	: An acceptance of the scheme with uniformity	:
: Centralist	: across institutions. A high degree	:
:	: of collaborative development.	:
:	:	:
:	:	:
<hr/>		
: Co-operative	: An acceptance of a common core with some	:
:	: similar elements in place between	:
:	: institutions. Some collaborative development.	:
:	:	:
<hr/>		
: Laisser Faire	: A superficial acceptance of the scheme with	:
:	: idiosyncratic developments taking place in	:
:	: institutions. Little collaborative	:
:	: development.	:
:	:	:
<hr/>		

collaborative development was hard to encourage (the case in Powys). Within Authorities that operated somewhere between these two extremes (a Co-operative mode), there was often an acceptance of the common core of the scheme by the institutions, and collaborative developments occurred to some extent (the case in Warwickshire). In a similar way, where headteachers felt obliged to initiate changes in their schools, their capability for doing so was strongly influenced by the ethos which previously existed in their institutions, and by the attitudes towards change which were collectively held by their staff. The change process was further complicated by a range of other possible interactions, both between an LEA and its institutions, and within the

institutions themselves. These could affect the nature of the changes being proposed. Thus, TVEI, which began as a centralist change model at the level of the MSC, had often been filtered and possibly amended and diluted by the major groups of participants, before it was put into operation in the classroom.

It has been a major theme of this thesis that TVEI was modified during its pilot phase as a result of the influences brought to bear on the MSC by the LEAs and by the practitioners in the institutions. This thesis must be explored within the context of the strengths and weaknesses of centre/periphery change strategies which were observed during this research. From this analysis an attempt will be made to identify the effective changes which were brought about within TVEI. Figure 9.2 summarises the advantages and disadvantages of changes emanating from either the centre or the periphery of a change system.

Advantages of the Centre/Periphery Change Model adopted by the MSC.

In the case of TVEI, the advantages for the MSC in creating a coercive, centralist change strategy were that:

(i) They were able to direct the changes which were taking place in LEAs through highly funded contractual agreements which, at least initially, were closely monitored by Regional Advisers and Civil Servants.

(ii) It gave the MSC clear control over developments, and over the use of the available funding. In these ways, during the early rounds of TVEI, the MSC was able to manage the events

FIGURE 9.2.

FEATURES OF CENTRE/PERIPHERY CHANGE

	FROM THE CENTRE CHANGE	FROM THE PERIPHERY CHANGE
ADVANTAGES FOR THE CENTRE	- DIRECTION - CONTROL - UNIFORMITY - NEEDS MATCH FOR PERIPHERY - SPEED	- LOW COST - SATISFACTION FOR THE PERIPHERY - LOW COMMITMENT
ADVANTAGES FOR THE PERIPHERY	- FINANCE - SUPPORT - COLLABORATION	- CONTROL - OWNERSHIP - IDENTIFIED NEED FOR SELF
DISADVANTAGES FOR THE CENTRE	- DISSATISFACTION OF THE PERIPHERY - COST - COMMITMENT - RISK	- DIFFUSIVE - VARIABLE - IDIOSYNCRATIC - DETRACTS FROM OTHER INITIATIVES
DISADVANTAGES FOR THE PERIPHERY	- NO OWNERSHIP - TAKES FROM OTHER INITIATIVES	- LACK OF FINANCE - LACK OF IMMEDIATE SUPPORT - SUSPICION FROM THE CENTRE - HIGH COMMITMENT - RISK

taking place. This was also demonstrated by the Annual Review programme, which could be interpreted as the control stage of a 'Management by Objectives' strategy.

(iii) Control over developments in TVEI allowed the MSC to achieve some uniformity between projects. The Commission seemed to consider this desirable for a number of reasons:

(a) to compare developments between LEAs as part of the TVEI pilot exercise,

(b) to provide opportunities within and between LEAs for collaborative developments,

(c) to ensure that the aims and criteria of TVEI, laid down nationally, were adhered to.

(iv) The requirement to maintain a coherence with national criteria, reinforced the centralist viewpoint that there were inadequacies within the work of the LEAs and institutions which needed to be addressed. This issue was reflected in many of the aims of TVEI, and the strategy used by the MSC seemed to focus on matching the perceived shortfalls in the institutions with highly funded coercive change.

- (v) The strategy allowed change to take place quickly. Although the history of TVEI is evidence for this occurring, problems did arise for the MSC in ensuring that adoption and maintenance of the changes did occur.

Whilst a centralist strategy had certain advantages for the MSC, there were also definite advantages for the LEAs and institutions concerned. It was evident that:

- (1) They were provided with considerable funding which enabled them to develop their educational provision at a time when there were financial cutbacks nationally.
- (11) The MSC had created a system of support capability for TVEI, through:
- its own Civil Servants,
 - its Regional Advisers, who were recruited to develop and support networks, locally, regionally and nationally,
 - formal and informal channels for curriculum and staff development,

and unlike earlier highly funded curriculum projects, which often floundered through lack of support networks (eg Nuffield Science schemes), TVEI projects benefited from these considerable back-up systems.

- (111) Much of the support was focussed on the creation of networks. These were often welcomed by LEAs, institutions and individuals for the opportunities that were created for like-minded people to come together to discuss developments, and to collaborate further.

Disadvantages of the Model.

Although the various advantages of a centralist change model were evident in TVEI projects, there were also disadvantages in the strategy, which tended to reduce the positive effects. The centralist model caused considerable dissatisfaction, among the LEAs and their institutions, over the MSC's approach to introducing the Initiative. The negative attitudes of some individuals and groups to TVEI have already been discussed, and the centralist model for change exacerbated these tensions further in the following ways:

- (1) There was little opportunity for LEAs and institutions to discuss their own TVEI schemes, since there was an apparent 'take it or leave it' attitude expressed by the MSC.
- (11) The MSC was seen as dictatorial, and attempting to force through changes which, although popular with Central Government, were opposed in principle by some local politicians and teachers.
- (111) LEAs and institutions saw TVEI as encroaching on their autonomy to run their own educational affairs in the ways that they thought most appropriate. (The Chief Education

Officer of one of the three projects being studied in this thesis, viewed TVEI as a subversive attempt by Government to take over control of education at the local level).

The economic cost of TVEI was high and was borne entirely by the MSC. There was no guarantee that the LEAs would even partly finance their proposed schemes themselves (as was to be the case with Educational Support Grants). The MSC had to demonstrate to the Treasury that the money was being used appropriately and effectively, and that the changes which had been proposed were actually taking place. This particular constraint on the MSC also explains, at least in part, the very directive management style adopted by the TVEI Unit in the early days of the Initiative. The commitment by MSC, to the generation of change through substantial 'categorical funding', contained high risks which were not shared, in the same way, by the LEAs. It was the MSC, and not the LEAs, which was being assessed on its ability to encourage innovation and to deliver an educational structure which, in the view of Government, met the needs of students more closely than the one which had existed previously. The overall commitment to the Initiative was also greater for the MSC than for any other partner in the TVEI organisation, since any failure of the scheme to operate could be interpreted as a direct consequence of the MSC's own inadequacies in encouraging change within the LEAs. It was always possible for LEAs to blame the MSC for providing too little support or direction.

The centralist model also had disadvantages for the LEAs and schools, since they had not been involved in the development of the criteria for

TVEI, and had little natural ownership over the scheme. It was difficult to encourage some teachers to join in developments, since they were unhappy about the educational and political implications of TVEI, and they objected to an initiative that was making incursions into the secondary school curriculum. The principal pressure was resource led. Teachers of subjects such as CDT found themselves being offered additional equipment and technician support in return for adopting the criteria of the local TVEI scheme. A number of teachers were happy to accept this situation; others were less keen to become involved yet felt compelled to in order to obtain the additional resources. Other teachers felt a degree of compulsion to participate because their headteachers had accepted entry to the Initiative and had nominated them to take part. They found it difficult to refuse in these circumstances, particularly when the involvement implied opportunities for promotion or other advancement. The MSC viewed the involvement of teachers in TVEI as a mechanism for encouraging them to participate further. They assumed that when teachers had seen the advantages of the Initiative for themselves, they would want to become more involved. This assumption appears to be somewhat naive and unjustified, since when teachers did become involved, this was often on their own terms.

Another problem for LEAs and schools was that TVEI was an extremely time consuming project, which tended to reduce the capability of many teachers and LEA personnel to maintain developments in the other current initiatives. The additional demands on time arose because the Initiative had a separate identity from other LEA projects, and a

considerable duplication of effort was needed from many teachers. Administration systems related to evaluation, resourcing, finance and reporting were particularly time consuming for some teachers, particularly the school co-ordinators. Detailed returns were required for TVEI teachers and students, as part of the national evaluation programme, and resources and equipment had to be accounted for separately and insured. In addition, teachers involved with TVEI were expected to attend a large number of development meetings which were usually additional to any that were held by the LEA's own advisory team. TVEI also generated considerable INSET opportunities which teachers were encouraged to attend. These features were often welcomed by teachers, but many of them had to make a substantial time commitment to this particular initiative.

During the period 1983 - 1986, TVEI became the largest area of change in secondary schools in England and Wales (HMI 1991). Other initiatives such as: The Lower Attaining Pupils Project (LAPP), and The Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) either took a subservient position, or actually became subsumed into TVEI itself. A feature of TVEI was that it seemed to grow in scope during its lifetime, and the Initiative often became a means and a justification for change. For instance, TVEI became instrumental in fostering the development of modular curricula, flexible arrangements for learning, and new forms of assessment. This situation seemed to arise as a result of the availability of TVEI funding to encourage change. An unintended consequence was the achievement of an increasing coherence of educational practice, which culminated in the Extension phase of

TVEI being more concerned with processes in classrooms, than with curriculum content alone. TVEI gradually incorporated some initiatives, such as Recording of Achievement, work experience and modular curriculum, in an almost colonial way, but as a result of increasing teacher control, the outcome was that TVEI could be interpreted as supporting other developments.

Changes in the Model.

The gradual decentralisation which became evident as the TVEI pilots developed, resulted from a combination of the disadvantages of a centralist model, and the advantages of allowing changes to emanate more from the periphery. For the MSC, a relaxation of its control over TVEI meant that changes could be brought about at a lower cost to the Commission, since the onus was passed to the LEAs and schools, which then had to accept an increased share of the required resourcing. As TVEI developments became more aligned with the policies of the LEAs, there was a greater willingness among Authorities to support the innovations taking place themselves, and for the costs and commitments to be shared more evenly. In the case of Clwyd LEA, for instance, the Authority provided sufficient funding to enable all of its secondary schools to be brought into TVEI before the end of the pilot phase (Evans 1988).

Another benefit for the MSC was that, as some control passed to the periphery, teachers were able to take greater ownership over the changes taking place, and there was an increased level of satisfaction for them. This in turn allowed the Initiative to become more

acceptable, especially where teachers were able to perceive the MSC as supporting changes which they themselves wanted to introduce, and for which they, not the MSC, had identified the need.

It is not easy to determine to what extent the MSC planned to relinquish control to the LEAs and institutions, since policy at TVEI Unit level has not been made public. There were, however, disadvantages for the Commission in such a move, since the changes became more diffuse and variable, and more difficult to evaluate, support and control. LEAs and schools tended to introduce changes which they felt to be necessary. The idiosyncratic nature of such changes meant that some of the aims of TVEI became less sharply focussed, while others received little or no attention at all, eg equal opportunities issues. Indeed it was possible to observe some areas of change being introduced that were entirely outside the remit of TVEI, and yet occurred as a result of the funding available, eg the development of course material for A-Level Biology classes. This situation, from the MSC point of view, meant that the time and resources used to develop issues of importance to the LEAs, could well have detracted from the main aims of the Initiative, thus reducing the political impact of the changes at national level. These effects were offset, to some extent, by an increased satisfaction in the LEAs arising from a greater feeling of ownership over TVEI. It was also possible that the MSC wanted to reduce its overall commitment as well as the financial costs for TVEI. It has already been pointed out in Chapter 3, that whilst it was comparatively easy, in the first 2 years of the Project, for the MSC to monitor TVEI, when more LEAs joined the

Initiative, the task became increasingly difficult as the work-loads of Regional Advisers and Civil Servants increased. Without substantially increasing the cost to the Treasury, or viring funding from individual projects to the centre in order to employ more advisory staff, it became necessary for the MSC to reduce its direct involvement with individual LEAs as much as possible.

The partial devolution of control to LEAs and schools, which resulted from this diminution in individual contact, did not happen without a number of problems for the periphery too. As the institutions gained more control over their own initiatives they found themselves having to vire other resources into the changes taking place. Sufficient funds from the MSC were not always available to cope with changes which were inappropriate to the aims of TVEI. In addition, the changes taking place received less support from the MSC staff. Some tensions were also created by the Commission attempting to keep a watching brief over any new developments. The devolution of partial control to the LEAs brought a consequential transfer of commitment. The LEAs found themselves having to justify their actions more to their elected members, and in those situations which involved a degree of risk, they were no longer able to count on the full support of the MSC. This was a problem for LEAs, since their original TVEI schemes, which had received approval from the MSC, had been produced in a hurry and frequently lacked internal coherence.

The initial devolution of central control of TVEI probably occurred, therefore, as a result of the MSC not being able to fund an adequate monitoring and support capability. This situation was then accelerated as teachers reacted to the increased ownership that they developed over the project. TVEI expanded too quickly for the MSC to manage the Initiative in the way that had originally been planned, which had been observed in operation during the first year of the scheme.

Some LEAs actually sought to maintain a fair degree of MSC support, and a balance was struck between central and peripheral control of change. The actual locus of this control varied between LEAs, and tended to reflect the MSC's own view of how well individual Authorities were accommodating to the Initiative. Where LEAs were perceived as being 'successful', they were given more room for manoeuvre, and possibly less immediate support. However, the MSC was not in a position adequately to judge the ability of LEAs to cope with change, since one of the features leading to a devolution of control in TVEI in the first place, had been a lack of proper monitoring capability on the part of the Commission. As a result, some of the judgements made were probably suspect. Some of the features which seemed to govern the MSC's view of LEA capability included:

- i) The achievement of the TVEI aims and criteria.
- ii) Sound management from the Project Co-ordinator.
- iii) A clear commitment, on the part of the LEA, to the involvement of advisers/inspectors in the Project.
- iv) The degree of collaboration with other TVEI projects.

- v) The degree of collaboration among schools and colleges within the LEA itself.

The same criteria also figured prominently in the granting of Extension funding to LEAs, since once all the 14-18 institutions in an Authority had been introduced into TVEI, the amount of support which was available to that Authority from the MSC would have been even more reduced than in the pilot phase, and the degree of devolution of control would inevitably have had to have been increased.

A similar analysis of the relationship between the MSC and the LEAs, also applies, to a large extent, to the links between LEAs and their schools and colleges. Although, as shown in Chapter 8, different LEAs related to their institutions in different ways, there were a number of common features governing the possible outcomes:

- 1) The nature of the historical relationship between the LEA and its institutions, particularly with regard to the degree of autonomy permitted to institutions over resource management.
- ii) The role of the TVEI project co-ordinators, and how far these people perceived themselves as managing and controlling TVEI in their LEAs, or merely acting in a supportive and advisory capacity.

- iii) The style of the headteacher and the consequent ethos of the institution.
- iv) The relationship between the headteacher and the LEA.
- v) The degree of collaboration between institutions, which in turn was found to depend upon:
 - a) historical developments within the LEA relating to institutional autonomy,
 - b) geographical features of access for staff and students,
 - c) competition between institutions for students in the same geographical area.
- vi) The nature of the project itself, and how far local criteria were synonymous with separate institutional aims. Where a project required rapid and novel innovation from institutions in which there was a high inertia to change, the locus of control was likely to move to the project co-ordinator if the criteria were actually to be met.

The three TVEI projects, which were discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, have demonstrated how all these features can be brought into play when considering the locus of control in the management of change. They also illustrate that the analysis of innovation is a complex issue, and support the view that change in TVEI was not a one-way process (Gleeson 1987).

TVEI has been shown as a unique initiative, that was introduced in unusual circumstances, and involved a new arrangement of participant groups. The tensions which existed between these various groups had definite effects on the processes of change occurring in the individual projects, which will be considered in the next section. It will be argued that there were a number of novel features evident in these processes and that, in many ways, TVEI became an initiative concerned more with the management of change, than with curriculum development alone.

9.4 FEATURES OF THE CHANGE PROCESS.

The impact that TVEI has had on educational innovation has been considerable, in terms of both the results of the changes that have been introduced, and the effects on the change process itself. The framework introduced by Bolam (1975), in relation to educational innovation, was found to be a useful means of analysing TVEI. Bolam presents changes as operating through a series of systems which interact over a period of time. The systems are the Innovation, the User and the Change agent. The Time element has three phases (Hull et al 1973): the Antecedent Stage (the time prior to the changes taking place), the Interactive Stage (the time during which the changes occur) and the Consequent Stage (when the changes have been concluded).

THE INNOVATION SYSTEM.

(1) The Nature of the Innovation System.

TVEI was a distinctive initiative since, unlike previous schemes, it was not one innovation but a collection of many. Although TVEI was

concerned with developing the school curriculum, it was not a single curriculum development; instead, it was a set of criteria aimed at influencing the ways in which children responded to the world of work. Whilst previous innovations had supplied specific ideas and materials for changing defined areas of the curriculum, TVEI only provided a broad developmental framework, within which LEAs and institutions were expected to operate. Although TVEI was a pilot scheme, it was concerned with testing possible ways of achieving the specified aims of the Initiative rather than trying out pre-written materials. As a result, TVEI was more concerned with the processes of curriculum change than with specific curriculum development programmes. However, the potential for TVEI to encourage change was considerable, and the Initiative did have an impact upon both the content of the curriculum and how the curriculum was organised. This will be considered in Section 9.5.

TVEI was probably the most highly-funded, single curriculum initiative ever, and this had a coercive effect on LEAs, many of which entered the Project for its resource benefits rather than for its curricular opportunities. However, when an LEA had entered into a contractual obligation with the MSC to deliver TVEI, it found itself without any previously defined ways of achieving the project's aims. The MSC did not provide the LEA with curriculum materials, but instead relied on the LEA to introduce its own ideas. This was not an easy situation for LEAs since they had not been accustomed to working in this way. They tended to rely on earlier innovations or unfulfilled aspirations in order to meet their contractual obligations. This brought into

question both the novelty and appropriateness of many of the changes taking place.

(11) The Novelty of Innovation.

Throughout the developmental phase of TVEI, it was increasingly apparent that the Initiative was not instrumental in encouraging the invention of a large number of new ideas. Instead, it was generally found that projects reproduced or developed many educational features that had been created previously. Although some new ideas were forthcoming, eg within course development or within curriculum organisation, these did not occur frequently. Indeed many of the ideas were merely the creation of new content for old frameworks (eg electronics courses), or new frameworks for old content (eg modular curricula). It now appears that TVEI did, in fact, enable projects, institutions and teachers to implement many of the ideas that had existed previously, but which they had not had the time, resources, or perhaps permission to introduce. The concept of TVEI legitimatising certain forms of innovation is an important one. Those teachers who were most involved at the beginning of TVEI, perhaps saw the Initiative as enabling them to introduce, adapt, enhance and develop many of their most cherished beliefs and ideas.

Much of the innovation within TVEI followed similar lines, with many pre-existing ideas becoming candidates for development. Projects often based their starting point on their immediately perceived needs, and then carried out investigations to discover solutions which fulfilled their requirements; this approach inevitably led to the utilisation of

previous innovations and ideas. This situation resulted from the considerable speed with which TVEI was introduced, which prevented the LEAs and their institutions from carrying out any systematic reappraisal of their needs, or having the opportunity for carrying out a full research and development programme. TVEI could be considered as the introduction of 1970's ideas into the 1980's curriculum, for the pattern of innovation tended to rely upon existing developments.

(111) The Appropriateness of the Innovation.

Many of the changes taking place in TVEI tended to be idiosyncratic, and to reflect previous developments in the Authority or school. This meant that while changes became more frequent as a result of the Initiative, they were not always consistent with its aims and criteria. Indeed many of the changes occurring through TVEI could often be regarded as:

(1) peripheral,

since they tended to affect only the more marginal areas of educational development, such as the type and quantity of equipment available, and introduced specific and esoteric changes in single subject areas.

(ii) superficial,

in that the changes occurring did not always have a fundamental impact on the work of the institution. For instance, the acquisition of more computers did not

necessarily have an immediate impact on teaching and learning styles.

The superficiality of TVEI was often a result of the lack of clear definition of the Project's objectives, and was particularly noticeable in those LEAs in which curriculum development had not occurred to any great extent previously. Within these Authorities, there appeared to be a lack of ideas about what to do with the available resources, and the tendency was to invest in 'high-tech' equipment which then frequently remained under-utilised. The peripheral nature of TVEI was exacerbated in those schools in which the Initiative was marginalised, as far as possible, by the headteacher. Instead of using the Project to influence key areas of the work of the school, it was limited to those aspects which were seen as less threatening.

(iv) Support for innovation.

Round 1 projects (those that started in 1983) were given considerable support by MSC officials and Regional Advisers. This support was considerably reduced for later entrants to TVEI, when it was no longer possible for more or less the same number of MSC staff to maintain the same level of intervention with a much increased group of LEAs and institutions. It was apparent that the Round 2 projects involved in this study generally obtained a rather minimal amount of support from the MSC, and tended to obtain greater benefits from mutual meetings with other TVEI projects.

Institutions usually had little or no contact with Regional Advisers, and the bulk of their support was provided by the project co-ordinator, who often adopted a multi-faceted role within the LEA. The amount of support available was dependent, therefore, upon (i) the capacity of the co-ordinators to provide it, (ii) how many other responsibilities they held in their LEAs, and (iii) the size and nature of their central teams (ie curriculum co-ordinators and other support staff).

It has already been noted several times in this thesis that, in all three LEAs, the involvement of advisers and officers in TVEI was minimal. This tended to reduce the capability of the LEAs to provide support to institutions, and made TVEI a rather marginal activity. Although advisers had not been particularly active in pilot schemes, the amount of INSET and staff development taking place, as a result of TVEI, was considerable. In the past, these elements had often come to be associated with the work of advisers, but within TVEI there was an increase in INSET work led by teachers and by curriculum co-ordinators. While the growth in INSET reflected the needs of teachers arising from the changes taking place, the handing over of much of the responsibility for the delivery of the INSET to practitioners, on an increasingly 'in-house' basis, was novel. It perhaps reflected the lack of expertise and knowledge on the part of advisers about many of the developments occurring in TVEI, and the growing confidence and expertise of small groups of teachers who were working closely with the developments taking place.

The INSET support provided through TVEI and TRIST was appreciated by many teachers. It seemed to provide a high degree of relevance to their work, and created opportunities for them to express their own needs, and to find these being met. This situation had not occurred to the same extent before. The degree of support created for INSET and staff development, through TVEI, was a factor which substantially enhanced the scheme's acceptability with classroom practitioners. The attractiveness of TRIST to teachers was noted by the DES, who used TRIST as a pilot for the funding arrangements for in-service training introduced in 1988. The Grants for In-service Training scheme (GRIST) had many similarities with TRIST, and was itself the fore-runner of the LEA Training Grants Scheme (LEATGS) and of the current scheme - Grants for Education Support and Training (GEST). TRIST therefore provided a basis for organising the in-service training of teachers in different ways. This illustrates the wider effect that TVEI had on the educational system in this Country.

THE USER SYSTEM.

(1) Defining the User System.

The User system was complicated in TVEI by the broad objectives of the Project, and the considerable diversity of practice in different parts of the Country. Since the principal target group for the Initiative were students in the 14-18 age range, it could be argued that it was their teachers who would be the prime users of TVEI. However, the actual contract was made with the Local Authorities and not the institutions. The expectation of the MSC was that an LEA would determine the needs of its own locality, and use TVEI to achieve the

required outcomes. However, since it was the institutions which were ultimately responsible for delivering the scheme, the relationship between them and their LEA was critical to the ways in which this developed. In addition, since TVEI was not a straight-forward curriculum development project, with associated support materials and clear assessment outcomes, there was nothing tangible for teachers to use in their classrooms when the Initiative began. The programme had first to be created and then supported. In some cases, this was done collectively by the LEA and its institutions (eg Coventry), while in other projects, the actual scheme was developed at the institutional level (eg Powys). An added complication was that the MSC itself was part of the User system, since the Commission was interested in affecting the attitudes of LEAs towards vocational education, and hence it used the opportunities presented by TVEI to introduce changes. As a result, not only was it difficult to define the User system, it was also hard to determine where the locus of control was situated between the Innovation system and the User system. The Innovation and User systems also overlapped, a possibility which had not been anticipated by Bolam.

(11) The Effect and Style of Gate-keepers.

Any innovation has to overcome the attitudes and prejudices of the institution's gate-keepers. For TVEI, this problem was particularly great, since the Initiative was seen by some as a politically inspired innovation which was designed to damage the nature of comprehensive education. Thus TVEI had to overcome attitudes of those who saw the Initiative as politically undesirable. In addition, TVEI was an

initiative which provided considerable funding. Initially this was given to only a small number of institutions, and to particular departments in these institutions, for the advantage of a small group of pupils (the cohort). As a result, there was considerable antagonism from staff not involved with the Initiative, who sometimes saw their opportunities for personal advancement, and for further developing their subject departments, being undermined by TVEI.

The nature of the tactics used by gate-keepers depended upon the status that they had within their establishments. If headteachers were opposed to the Initiative, there was often little prospect of TVEI being genuinely adopted by their institutions, since too many obstacles were placed in the way. Heads who were antagonistic to TVEI generally tended not to reject TVEI out of hand, but rather opposed its introduction in more subtle ways, eg non compliance, prevarication and filibustering. The use of these less direct approaches resulted from the attraction of the funding available to them, and the potential kudos of becoming involved. Within some TVEI institutions, it became apparent that there was a division between those staff and departments which were led by the institution co-ordinator, and those staff who were not involved with the scheme, who had their own gate-keeper support. Whether or not this schism was reconciled depended on the success achieved by the project, the project co-ordinator and the institution's change agents, and also on whether amendments were made to the TVEI scheme in order to increase the acceptability of the Initiative.

THE CHANGE AGENT SYSTEM.

The complexities of the User and Innovation systems within TVEI also led to complications for the ways in which the change agents operated. For instance, the degree of co-ordination between the activities of the change agencies varied considerably between LEAs, and depended upon the structures that had been set up for TVEI, and on the relationships which existed between the MSC, the LEA and the institutions.

The process of innovation is, in many ways, a conflict between the principal change agents on the one hand, and the gate-keepers and change agents for other innovations (either complementary or conflicting) and the preservers of the status quo on the other. Within TVEI, the institution co-ordinators, who were usually appointed from existing staff, were the group of personnel most affected by existing change agents and gate-keepers. Perceptions of their role and the ways in which it could be carried out, were dependent on the views of the heads who had appointed them. Since heads are the principal gate-keepers and change agents in their institutions, this had clear implications for the way in which the roles of co-ordinators were allowed to develop.

The strategies used by the various change agents have been considered in detail in Chapter 5. What now seems most apparent is that the greatest innovative successes often derived from those agents who were able to adopt strategies which were in line with the management styles of their LEAs and of their institutions, and who were able to establish and maintain good relationships with the staff most influential on, and

affected by, the change process. Where change agents were seen to be attempting to introduce novel innovative styles, they were viewed with some suspicion, and were marginalised by their colleagues.

Although collaboration was encouraged by the MSC, this was less successful than might have been anticipated. This reflected;

- the autonomy of the institutions,
- the difficulties experienced in organising meetings,
- the increasing competition for students between schools and colleges in some areas,
- a reluctance to share facilities and equipment.

It has already been acknowledged that, as TVEI developed, considerable changes took place in the nature of the relationships between the principal partners. This meant that the ways in which the gate-keepers reacted also tended to change. The effect of time on TVEI was particularly important, since the project had been introduced very rapidly, and the considerable pace of innovation was generally maintained during its lifetime.

THE TIME DIMENSION.

(1) Stages of Innovation.

Because the local evaluation of TVEI projects began after the Initiative had started, the work described in this thesis mainly relates to the interactive stage of the change process. It was possible to determine, however, that a number of features which predated the Initiative had been influential on the way TVEI eventually

developed (the antecedent stage). If the MSC had previously been perceived as a training organisation, with somewhat narrow views of its objectives, this tended to colour the attitudes of some participants towards TVEI. If, on the other hand, a sound working relationship had been built up already between the LEA and the MSC, the degree of progress was often much more rapid. The historical views of the Authority, towards vocational education, were also influential on the ways in which the scheme progressed. The main User and Change Agent systems in TVEI were generally known to one another before the project started, but in different guises; thus the TVEI co-ordinators had held other posts in their Authorities, and the institutional co-ordinators had held other posts within their institutions. The institutions and LEAs also predated TVEI, and the relationships which existed between these two groups were often critical to the later progress made by the Initiative. A particular feature of the interactive stage of TVEI, was that changes were expected to take place rapidly and often did so. The nature of the interactions occurring between the User, the Innovation and the Change Agency systems were often critical in this respect.

11) Rate of innovation.

The rate of innovation in TVEI was extremely variable and depended on a number of factors, including:

- the existing management structures (particularly how well channels for communication operated),

- the nature of the relationship between the LEA and the MSC, and also between the LEA and its own institutions.

It became apparent that change was initially encouraged by the LEA, and although projects had some success in producing results within their institutions, the rate at which changes occurred depended upon:

- a) the attitudes shown to the change by the principal gate-keepers in the institution,
- b) the degree to which the suggested innovation was in line with the established philosophies of the institution,
- c) the capability of the change agents to introduce the change,
- d) the pressure imposed by the project on the institution to bring about the change.

Change was most easily produced in areas which were fairly specific to the institution concerned, for instance, it was observed that:

- Changes which were immediately seen as relevant to the needs of the institution were more easily accommodated than those which were seen as deriving from the needs of the project, eg where pupil profiling was already part of school practice or planning, it became accepted more readily.
- It was easier to introduce changes within specific subject areas of the curriculum than in aspects which were cross-curricular; all the institutions found difficulties with this (for instance

in developing information technology and economic awareness), while some schools did not really start at all.

- Those aspects which affected small groups of teachers in a directly positive way (eg the provision of new technology rooms or more specialised equipment), were easier to introduce than issues which affected the whole school in a more general way, and which posed possible threats for some teachers (eg changes in teaching and learning styles).
- Innovation which was not immediately perceived as necessary, or desirable, was most difficult to introduce (eg changes in management structures), particularly when these were seen as being imposed from outside the institution.

As a result of these features, those changes which were most noticeable tended to be ones which were often somewhat peripheral to the central aims of the Initiative, eg a new computer network, or extra equipment for technology. It might prove to be the case, that many of the outcomes arising from the more fundamental impact of TVEI still need to be observed. This is particularly true when considering changes in the attitudes of teachers to pedagogical issues, and to the effect, if any, that TVEI has had on the learning process.

THE OUTCOMES OF THE INNOVATION.

While changes were noticeable within TVEI Projects, the longevity of these changes still has to be determined. It has been demonstrated

that there were considerable pressures on institutions to change, as a result of the 'funding coercion' which was being imposed upon TVEI projects by the MSC; however, what will happen when this funding ends is yet to be observed. In some institutions, changes were accepted grudgingly, and were implemented in such superficial ways, that the resentment to change was clearly observable and had, in many ways, been exacerbated by the actions of the change agents. In other cases, while the changes that were introduced appeared, on the surface, to be successful, whether they would eventually be adopted, in ways that would ensure their maintenance in the future, was less clear.

A considerable amount of information was gained, throughout the lifetime of TVEI, about the most appropriate means of institutionalising change. A conflict constantly arose between:

- (a) the need to introduce changes quickly, to prevent prevarication and to maintain their immediate relevance and impact (the view taken by the MSC), and
- (b) the importance of allowing staff time to accept the changes, and to modify the developments occurring in ways which allowed them to feel more comfortable with the changes (the ownership issue often argued by the LEAs and institutions).

These issues were not fully resolved within the management of change strategies adopted. The outcome often seemed to be a compromise situation, which involved:

- a determination to encourage or enforce rapid change,
- maintaining the events that were occurring through the intervention of advisory staff,
- the provision of INSET support for a sustained period afterwards.

Where this strategy was not possible, or not accomplished, the success of the projects in ensuring the adoption of change was often minimized. It was demonstrated in Chapter 4 that innovation is difficult to achieve if the participants do not perceive any need for it. This situation could result either from the change appearing to offer no better solution to a problem than existing approaches, or where the change would introduce a fundamental mismatch between the new approach and the professional and/or ideological views of the participants. Merely telling teachers to change their approach is insufficient. There have to be opportunities available for them, not only to become aware of the benefits of the change, but also to have some say in the final outcomes. There was little doubt that this ownership of change was fundamental. All three TVEI projects demonstrated the force of Zaltman et al's (1977) argument that a negotiated approach to educational change was more likely to succeed than a top-down strategy. However, in order to achieve any degree of ownership of the changes occurring, a considerable amount of time was required. This meant that either the changes were moulded around pre-existing structures, or an attempt was made to give longer term support during the introduction of these new ideas. Since it was

difficult to ensure the latter, the former approach tended to dominate. As a result, changes were usually evolutionary.

The 'funding coercive' nature of TVEI, and the contractual obligations placed upon LEAs to deliver the Initiative, meant that there was little actual rejection of the changes being introduced, since this would have directly contravened the contract. Instead, there was a high degree of subversion operating, in which many of the changes were adapted or slowed down. TVEI was a very diverse initiative which generated many innovations; wherever possible, LEAs and institutions tended to be selective over the changes they introduced. Those institutions which had considerable autonomy from their LEA found it easier to achieve this than those where the LEA was highly directive. Many of the changes taking place were ones that the institutions wanted to introduce and, as a consequence, some elements of TVEI were more readily assimilated than others. It was noticeable, for instance, that work experience, information technology, Personal and Social Education (PSE), and pupil profiling were popular innovations, whereas the introduction of prevocational and/or vocational courses into schools was less common. Where institutions were less free to select their own aspects of TVEI, there was often evidence of the imposed changes being adapted to the use of the particular institution. TVEI was a scheme which was difficult to manage on a national scale, therefore it was possible for professionals at the local level to modify the Initiative to a large extent to their own needs and, as shown in Chapter 3, this led to an increased acceptance of TVEI by teachers.

The curricular outcomes of TVEI probably have been less important than the processes for generating change which were taking place. This was because many of the outcomes were not innovative, but were merely adaptations of previous practices. However, there was little doubt that TVEI was a real opportunity for the change process itself to be reconsidered in considerable depth and detail, and for the lessons learned to be disseminated. Even in its short life-time, TVEI has begun to influence other aspects of the educational system, and features of this will be considered in the next section.

9.5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE OUTCOMES OF TVEI, WITHIN ITS LOCAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXTS.

In this concluding section, the findings of the research will be summarised against the conceptual framework that was introduced at the beginning of this thesis, and which has been referred to throughout, ie:

- the nature of the change process in TVEI,
- the changes produced as a result of TVEI.

(1) THE NATURE OF THE CHANGE PROCESS IN TVEI.

Although TVEI has been a vehicle for encouraging change in educational practice in England and Wales, the direction, pace and planning of this change has tended to be largely idiosyncratic, particularly at the institutional level. The main features which led to this position were:

- (1) TVEI was not a single curriculum development project with pre-produced course materials and assessment outcomes for students; instead it was a set of aims and criteria intended to encourage changes of attitude about the world of work and about vocational education and training. As a result, the content of the change process was not well defined, and innovation was often diverse and unrelated to the specific needs of the Project. Many of the changes taking place were ones which benefited the institutions involved in ways that they themselves wanted to develop.

The relevance and congruence of the TVEI scheme to local needs was a fundamental factor in the adoption of change process. TVEI submissions were intended to clearly reflect this, but the speed with which that task had to be completed, and the inexperience of the submission writers at the time, meant that this was not always the case. Where TVEI schemes had clear relevance to local needs, or where adjustments were made to allow them to become more relevant, there was a greater probability of the scheme receiving acceptance. Indeed, where it was possible for schemes to become amended by institutions, in order to meet their own needs, the degree of ownership was considerably enhanced, but this depended upon the willingness of the project co-ordinators to support such a move, and their readiness to assist institutions in identifying their own needs in the first place.

The management problems involved in allowing institutions some freedom over their own schemes, while still maintaining their development within the framework of the project's overall submission, were substantial. Project co-ordinators were caught between providing flexibility and support for individuality on the one hand, and directing and controlling coherent and planned changes on the other. The capability of co-ordinators to achieve this, either through their own efforts, or through the influence of their LEAs, was a vital element in the ways that the TVEI criteria were delivered.

- (11) The incursion of the MSC into the educational arena introduced new styles of management. This led to an on-going 'struggle' with the other participants over the control of the Initiative. The locus of control of TVEI varied with the stage of development of the Project, and also differed markedly between LEAs. While the MSC maintained an overall commitment to fulfilling the initial aims of the Project, this was often subverted by LEAs and institutions, either deliberately, or because they did not possess the necessary systems and structures to put the scheme into operation.

The initial control over TVEI, which had been maintained by the MSC, and which had encouraged LEAs to adhere fairly closely to the original criteria which had been laid down and to deliver their schemes along the lines of their initial submissions, gradually relaxed. LEAs found themselves able to become more

innovative and in a position to pursue schemes more in line with their own developing needs. This movement of control from the centre to the periphery had benefits and disadvantages for both sides, but resulted in the Initiative becoming more acceptable to the practitioners than it might otherwise have been.

The degree to which change occurred was very much controlled by the attitudes of the headteachers and principals, and whether they supported or rejected the aims of the scheme. Heads were found to be both the principal gate-keepers and change agents for TVEI in their institutions, and it was necessary for project co-ordinators to win their support if the adoption of TVEI was to be successful. This situation was also reflected in the ways that heads viewed their relationships with their Local Authority. Whether, for instance, they were in a position to maintain an autonomy over their own institution if they so desired, or whether they saw themselves more as agents of their LEA. It was clear that the impact of TVEI on institutions was indeed very dependent upon the previous relationship which had existed between the institution head and the Local Authority.

While TVEI encouraged change at the institutional level, the scope and nature of this change depended upon a number of features:

- the attitudes of the principal gate-keepers in the institution towards the philosophy of TVEI,
- how far the institution believed that it could adopt the innovations occurring through TVEI; including its capability to amend the innovation to its own needs,
- the pressure placed upon the institution to change, by the LEA, the teachers within the institution, parents and governors.

A fundamental consideration was how far institutions were willing to adapt their organisational structures (for instance timetables, option routines, and staff cover for INSET and visits) in order to accommodate the requirements of the Initiative. In most cases, there was a reticence on the part of headteachers to proceed too far in this direction for fear of affecting the quality of teaching in the more traditional areas of the curriculum. In the main, it was noticeable that heads assimilated TVEI into their existing arrangements as far as possible, and were not willing to create new structures to accommodate the Initiative. As a result, in some cases, TVEI became lost in the existing structures of the institution.

The management style of the MSC, as illustrated through TVEI, changed during the life-time of the Project. Initially, the approach had been highly directive, coercive and

accountability-led. This gradually changed as the pilot developed to a style in which co-operation, partnership, the need for research and development, and the dissemination of good practice, were emphasised. As the Extension phase of TVEI unfolded, the approach became one which stressed high quality submissions, realistic and well considered aims, and LEA management systems which were suitable for the delivery of their proposed schemes. It is difficult to determine the underlying rationale for these changes in approach, since the TVEI Unit has not been forthcoming on this matter. The pressures on the MSC from a lack of professionally trained personnel to manage TVEI, and the attitudes of teachers in the various projects were, however, influential factors. A variety of political and economic pressures were also important to the ways in which TVEI matured.

- (111) TVEI was a 'funding-coercive' project, and the pressure on LEAs and institutions to obtain extra resources forced them into contractual positions that they did not necessarily want to take. Although changes were noticeable throughout TVEI schemes, it was difficult to determine how far any of these would be sustained. In some cases, the changes occurring in the institutions were merely a result of the pressures to innovate imposed by the LEA, and once those pressures were removed (eg by discontinuing the funding), there was every likelihood that a number of the changes would be modified if not entirely disappear. Institutionalisation of change through

TVEI was particularly difficult, since it was seen by some as a politically and educationally unacceptable initiative, and had been targeted (at least initially) on a narrow part of the curriculum. These factors, taken together, led to considerable antagonism on the part of many individuals. Some teachers seemed to be opposed to the Initiative, simply because it was TVEI. The issue of post-funding continuity, in the areas encouraged by TVEI, remains a critical one for the LEAs concerned since, as a result of Extension developments, many of the features being encouraged are now themselves priorities for the LEAs as well as for TVEI (eg active learning strategies). There has been a realisation, that in order to sustain development when the original contractual obligations no longer apply, it will be necessary to encourage teachers to develop an ownership over the changes taking place. The LEAs themselves will have a key role to play in this.

Within the Initiative itself, a polarisation of attitudes was observed. While there were teachers who were highly committed to TVEI, almost to the extent of becoming zealots (these were usually those most involved, and/or those who had benefited most from the Initiative), there were many who were totally opposed to the scheme. This group included teachers with personal objections to what was happening, as well as those who demonstrated professional and political dissent. The middle ground was occupied by a range of staff who were fairly neutral and willing to be convinced either way. Whether they were or

not depended largely on the attitudes shown by the heads and senior staff of their institutions, and how far they were willing to incorporate TVEI into the school's overall philosophy.

The strategy used by the MSC of providing a statement of intent about where the educational system should be moving, and then providing large amounts of resources in order to encourage the system to move in the required direction, was found to be managerially naive, since it:

- totally ignored the position from which the participants started,
- took no account of the participants' wishes to go along with the idea,
- assumed a capability among the participants to actually determine and pursue a route to attain the final goals for themselves,
- assumed a capability on the part of the managers to control, direct and deliver the intended aims.

The history of TVEI provides a critique of this particular model of change. The evaluation studies, carried out in the three TVEI projects, identified a number of features that

needed to be addressed if the implementation of change was to be successful. In a number of cases these features were not given enough attention and this gave rise to some of the problems that occurred. The project managers needed to:

- seek some consensus among the various participants about educational aims, so that schools were better able to integrate TVEI into their own organisational and professional structures. There was sometimes considerable conflict between the aims of individual institutions and those of TVEI.
- identify the actual needs and requirements of participants, so that individually they were able to gain increased commitment to the changes taking place. The ways in which different schools were staffed and resourced by TVEI projects were often identical. This did not allow enough attention to be given to individual differences.
- provide extra support to developments through INSET, so that teachers felt more prepared to tackle issues which they found demanding or threatening, eg adopting new styles of classroom management. INSET matters were, however, an afterthought for the MSC as well as for some of the projects, and while TRIST provided useful support, this was rather late arriving.

- provide appropriate advice on the best ways of managing change and of supporting innovations. Schools that had not been used to adopting new initiatives needed more direct support on the management aspects. This was, however, also a problem for the LEAs.
- carefully monitor developments, so that areas requiring support were addressed earlier. The evaluation of TVEI within LEAs and their institutions was given low priority and was often inadequately developed.
- create ownership of the changes among participants by involving them as much as possible in the planning and development stages. Some teachers felt that they were being instructed to take on new ideas and resisted this approach.
- take into account the different starting points of the participants (both institutions and LEAs). There was a considerable diversity of practice and experience among participants, which was insufficiently addressed. More individualised approaches were required from both LEAs and the MSC.
- produce a philosophy of purpose which could be shared by all participants, so that collaborative developments became more attainable.

(iv) The amount of support for TVEI was variable. It depended upon the roles taken by the project co-ordinators, the degree of involvement of LEA advisers and officers, and the success that was achieved in setting up collaborative networks for curriculum and staff development. Although the rate of change differed among projects, there was no doubt that TVEI had an impact on existing developments. This was a direct result of the capabilities of project co-ordinators to encourage innovation through their hard work and considered leadership, and because TVEI provided them with an enabling mechanism to achieve new goals. These individuals were the prime change agents for TVEI within the LEAs. As Extension arrived, they became the chief planners for this new stage of the Initiative.

Where co-ordinators found themselves having to work against a background in their LEAs which did not encourage centralised direction of change, they were viewed with varying degrees of suspicion, both by their colleagues in the LEA, and by staff in the institutions, if they attempted to introduce this type of approach. The project co-ordinators were, however, in a powerful position to encourage and, if necessary, enforce change, since they had the support of the MSC, and the backing of the contractual obligations made by their LEAs within their submission statements. Although the management styles used by TVEI co-ordinators differed considerably, individually they were substantially in line with the traditions for managing institutions, which had been built up within their own

Authorities. The co-ordinators were, in many ways, free-agents when implementing changes that were in accordance with the requirements of TVEI, but their mode of action was strongly influenced by the operational styles of their LEAs.

In a number of cases, institutions found themselves attempting to introduce TVEI with little external support. Project co-ordinators became increasingly busy people through having to administer their schemes centrally, while, in some Authorities, still carrying out their other duties as well. This meant that some institutions, which received little direct advice and assistance, felt rather cut off from the centre. In most cases, LEA advisers did not become involved with TVEI for a number of reasons, and the LEAs did not go out of their way to encourage them to do so. In part, this reflected the attitudes of some Directors of Education and other senior LEA staff to the role of TVEI in their Authorities.

The MSC Regional Advisers were unable to take more than a cursory glance at the work of the individual institutions, due to their lack of numbers and to their considerable work load. This situation encouraged local diversity in TVEI. The problems for a national, centrally directed project of the size and complexity of TVEI were closely linked with the inability of the MSC to control the events that were taking place, and this in turn related to:

- insufficient personnel being available to carry out this function, and
- insufficient coherence of TVEI developments with the policies and intentions of the LEAs involved.

Any centrally directed initiative, which does not have the agreement and support of the periphery, and/or sufficient capability to enforce, monitor and support the necessary changes, is likely to fail. A project as large, contentious, and as broadly conceived as TVEI was even more likely to be significantly modified, therefore.

(11) THE CHANGES PRODUCED AS A RESULT OF TVEI.

The changes produced as a result of TVEI were based upon the local interpretations of the aims and criteria of the Initiative. There was considerable variety in these interpretations, and many of the changes taking place were somewhat distant from the immediate purposes of the Project. The ways in which institutions were able to gain a reasonable control over the Initiative, meant that, for them, TVEI often became a means to an end, and consequently the central intentions of the Initiative were marginalised. Many of the changes introduced, merely repeated previous initiatives. TVEI facilitated the introduction of a number of the ideas which were cherished by teachers and officers at the local level, but which they had not been able to introduce previously.

TVEI had a fairly marginal and superficial impact on many institutions, but it was not without its effects in more subtle and less immediately determinate ways. The introduction of a scheme which was seen to be encouraging innovation in classroom practice, and which became increasingly concerned with sharing ideas and encouraging collaboration over the developments taking place, had a liberating effect on some staff. This was often a result of the increase in INSET activity resulting from TVEI, particularly TRIST, which enabled staff development to occur in ways that were more related to the needs of individual teachers, and to their perceptions of the needs of their pupils. It also provided opportunities for sharing those needs with other staff in ways which had not been common before. This, in turn, produced a climate which often enhanced motivation, and increased awareness of the need for further development. The resultant changes were not necessarily closely linked, however, with the aims and criteria of TVEI.

In a number of cases, TVEI was seen by headteachers as being most suitable for pupils of average ability, and hence it was commonly offered to this particular group alone. Pupils with special educational needs were not generally involved, nor were those of high ability, for whom more traditional pathways were regarded as more appropriate. In some institutions, despite opposition initially from the MSC, TVEI was offered to the whole of a year group, and not just to a limited cohort. However, this approach did not imply that all pupils of all abilities were then equally represented, since counselling and guidance systems were found to regulate the uptake.

In fact this particular strategy enabled some headteachers to successfully bury TVEI within their organisational structures.

TVEI appeared to be most effective, when it introduced changes which were related to teaching and learning styles rather than to specific areas of the curriculum. This was a result of a large number of teachers then being able to accept the scheme as one which had relevance for them in their own classrooms, and as a means of directly affecting the learning of their pupils. In addition, this was a consequence of the simultaneous introduction of GCSE, which was also concerned with changes in pedagogy. As a result, TVEI was seen as a support for the changes occurring in that initiative too. The increased concentration on teaching and learning styles was a feature that allowed teachers to gain additional control over TVEI, and to frame other curriculum development more within this context. Rather than concentrating solely on the development of the work-related curriculum, TVEI increasingly became a vehicle for the delivery of an entitlement curriculum.

The notion of educational entitlement had been expounded previously, but it had not received much attention nationally. TVEI increasingly became a vehicle advocating for the entitlement curriculum, but whilst giving support to the original aims of the Initiative, it also began to encompass more traditional curricular values. Entitlement was encouraged throughout the 14-18 age range and, possibly for the first time, attention was focussed on the needs of all students in the 16+ phase. However, TVEI did not make any great headway in this area,

largely due to the more entrenched views of staff in the Further Education colleges and school sixth forms. It was also difficult to bridge the existing academic/vocational structures in this phase of education. This was exacerbated by the differentiated curricula provided by these institutions, that saw the majority of A-level courses being offered in the schools and BTEC courses in the colleges.

TVEI encouraged the introduction of modes of assessment and recording that were more consistent with the pedagogical changes being introduced. Although the 'stranglehold' of the Examination Boards was not removed, a greater dialogue was opened up. In addition the move towards Recording of Achievement, which had pre-dated TVEI, was given a boost through the Initiative and became a further area for development.

Many of these changes only started to occur, however, when the Initiative had become more acceptable to teachers. When TVEI began, many teachers viewed its attempts to change educational practice with considerable suspicion. As they gained some ownership over the Project, however, they gradually came to accept it more as an ally against some of the other changes being introduced at the same time by other agencies (eg the National Curriculum).

(111) CONCLUSION.

This research project set out to consider the impact that TVEI has had on educational institutions. This has been examined from a number of standpoints, but particularly in regard to how far it depended upon:

- (i) the attitudes shown by staff within the institutions and their LEAs towards the management of change,
- (ii) the nature and extent of the support provided by the TVEI project, and
- (iii) the nature of TVEI itself.

It has been shown that, although a fundamental review of the educational provision for students aged 14-18 has taken place during the life-time of TVEI, the degree, direction and rate of any resulting changes depended upon a number of factors:

- (i) the previous attitudes of the LEAs to educational change, and the systems that they set up for managing it,
- (ii) the nature of the relationship between an LEA and its institutions,
- (iii) the nature of the particular TVEI scheme developed by an LEA,
- (iv) the attitudes of headteachers and principals towards TVEI,
- (v) the state of preparedness of institutions for change of the complexity and magnitude generated by TVEI,

(vi) the support and encouragement provided by the LEA generally, as well as by the TVEI project specifically,

(vii) the nature of the relationship between the local TVEI project and the LEA.

Whilst TVEI has been shown to have had a considerable impact at national and local levels during its life-time, it is questionable whether the initial aims of the Project have really been met. There is generally a greater awareness of the issues which have been highlighted by the Initiative, but these have become somewhat subsumed into existing organisational structures, as control over TVEI has moved more into the hands of the practitioners. The practitioners have tended to minimise the 'unwanted' effects of TVEI to a large extent, while at the same time creating and utilising opportunities for further developments in those areas in which they themselves had a vested interest; for instance, improved staff development facilities and the creation of more appropriate classroom practices. While TVEI set out to encourage the development of the work-related curriculum, and to modify attitudes towards vocational education and training, it has actually been more successful in enhancing pedagogical issues, particularly with regard to styles of teaching and learning, and approaches to assessment and recording.

TVEI was created as a result of the reactions of some politicians to the economic and educational problems that they perceived as existing at the time. The aims of the Initiative, therefore, were largely

intended to resolve these problems, but critically for those who were to later manage TVEI, no proper account was taken of:

- 1) the state of the educational system at the time. Hence little attention was given to the developmental needs of the individuals and institutions involved,
- 11) how the aims would be met. This process was largely left to the professionals to determine.

As a result of TVEI, the MSC became increasingly identified as a partner in the educational change process, rather than as an intruder as previously believed. As a consequence, TVEI enabled changes to take place in those LEAs and institutions which were willing and prepared for innovations to occur, although the nature of these changes was often idiosyncratic and targeted more at the needs of the locality than those of the Initiative. Where the ethos, structures and degree of development were not so compatible, changes were more difficult to initiate and sustain. Although the Initiative was introduced rapidly, and with considerable funding and a high degree of coercion upon those LEAs accepting membership, changes have been patchy, partial and incomplete. However, the slowness of real progress has probably paralleled the problems of inertia in the educational system in this Country more than it has reflected an overt resistance to the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative itself.

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